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LORD SHAFTESBURY AND SOCIAL-INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

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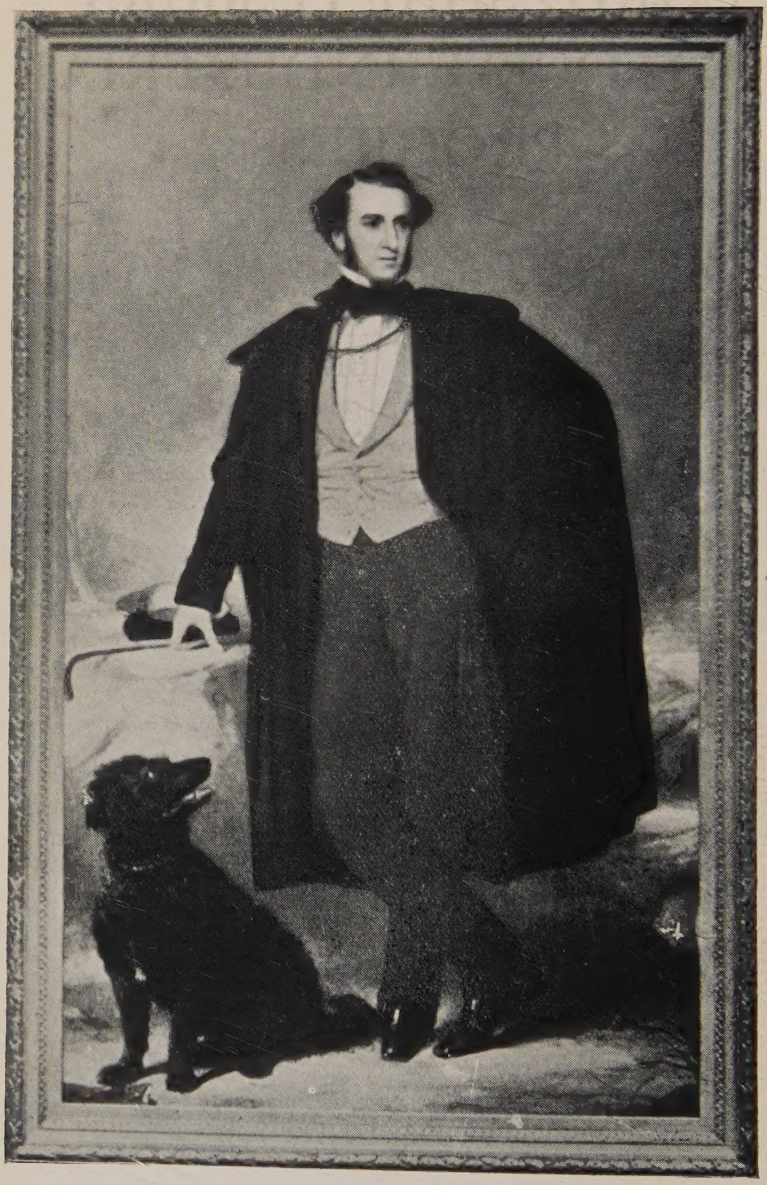

LORD ASHLEY (SHAFTESBURY) AS HE APPEARED WHEN ELECTED M.P. FOR WOODSTOCK IN 1826

LORD SHAFTESBURY AND SOCIAL-INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR JOSIAH STAMP, D.Sc., G.B.E., F.B.A., ETC.

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

MY MOTHER,

WHO, LEFT A WIDOW WITH EIGHT CHILDREN, BY
DAUNTLESS FAITH AND SACRIFICE, ENABLED THEM
ALL TO PROCURE A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION,
AND SIX OF THEM A PROFESSIONAL
EDUCATION

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FOREWORD

By SIR JOSIAH STAMP, G.B.E., F.B.A

IT is with no little diffidence that I accede to Dr. Bready's request for a foreword to this new edition, for I am conscious that I can say nothing that will add to the proved success and acceptance of his work, to its power and completeness, or to the dignity and greatness of his subject. But at least I can give a reason or two for my appreciation.

Dr. Bready's graphic story has a greatly moving quality even to those readers and students who are already familiar with many of the details of the struggle, and who know the Commission reports at first-hand or by frequent reference. Even to such it brings a fresh sense of wonder, of shame, of self-analysis towards the world of to-day and to-morrow. With what shattering power then is it destined to affect the minds of thousands who have never read a *Life of Shaftesbury* or a history of social conditions in England in the nineteenth century. The greatness of the evil, the greatness of the struggle, the greatness of the lasting victory, give it an epic quality that must outlast even contemporary stories of warfare and bloodshed. In this popular edition will be found the introduction of many minds to the whole idea of *development* in human affairs ; of the strangeness and inertia of political psychology ; of the final irresistibility of facts, properly stated with appalling reiteration, to move the human soul ; of the patient endurance which in the end " wins more than them all." Never were there better contrasted the two serenities—the serenity of pure apathy and content that cynics have found in " Give peace in our time, O Lord," and the serenity of utter warfare, of which the final issue is never in doubt, so vested is it in the justice of God—" Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God."

" Tranquillity is a good thing, but it is not far removed from danger," said Benger. Shaftesbury's tranquillity had no peril of satisfaction ; it had something of the irresistibility of destiny.

But it clearly had a foundation in something more than material idealism, than a sense of human pity, a superior economic sagacity or a grand philanthropic urge.

The writing of modern economic and industrial history has fallen rather much into the hands of people competent indeed in their own craft, but wanting in respect to, or appreciation of, dynamic human forces which seem either meaningless or puerile to themselves. Because new knowledge makes old creeds and forms of belief appear childish and outgrown, or because new modes of thought render old appeals and forms crude and unsophisticated, or because a self-complacent rationalism cannot be content with any old springs of action, it seems to be necessary to belittle the part played by the religious impetus of a former age, as the hidden cause in a very obvious and objective effect.

Dr. Bready comes right out into the open in his fearless and, as I believe, historically correct—however rationalistically unwelcome—estimate of the part played by simple religious ideals and dynamics, enshrined in dogmas for which even many who revere those forces have no longer any use. Other countries made the transition from the old to the modern conceptions of industrial society by violent stages that necessitated force and bloody revolution, but Wesley and Shaftesbury together so transformed the social and ethical ideas of England as to achieve the same result by evolution of opinion and sympathy.

The fact that one does not believe in a man's creed oneself, is no reason for denying what it has done for him, or what, through him, it has done for the world. But, except to a very sensitive spirit, it is a good reason for being blind to it. The writer's insistence on the religious dynamic in all Shaftesbury's tranquillity and persistence is a valuable contribution to economic history. It is not the only one that Dr. Bready has made. For example, his reference to the correspondence with Garibaldi, and his evidence on Shaftesbury's hatred of war are new features, while the place of his hero in the development of public education has been more clearly made out than heretofore.

In the edition prepared for American readers, when Dr. Bready wants to strike a firm, immediate impression as to Shaftesbury's place in English national life, he calls him " the British Lincoln," for by that parallel, better than any other, one revealing flash conveys to an American a whole clear-cut

historical context which is but shadowy and vaguely suggestive to an Englishman. The comparison is a just one in so many important respects—the facial and physical resemblance, the ethical, biblical and religious antecedents, the mode of thought, the supreme dedication, the final national issues. But the differences are significant too, for Shaftesbury emancipated his slaves without a bloody civil war, without commanding office, without personal danger.

May a jealous craftsman be forgiven a personal touch ?

The professional economist seems to come badly out of the story, but he has made at least no worse blunders than the theologian, the physicist and psychologist. True, the narrow limitations of the Ricardian method are seen here at their worst. But they were the necessary beginnings of a body of knowledge struggling for principle and exactness. The real trouble is that economics often works with ingredients provided by other sciences, and in this case one of them was tragically and terribly wrong. If any physiologist or industrial psychologist had even hinted at what we know to-day about the effects of reduced hours in increasing aggregate productive effort, in reducing defective output, absenteeism and sickness as a purely physiological or psychological consequence, Nassau Senior would never have talked rubbish about the profits of the manufacturer depending on the twelfth hour of labour. Not in his wildest dreams had McCulloch pictured an Institute of Industrial Psychology. " Knowledge gained at any point is valid for the whole." Equally, ideas invalid at any point may spoil a field of science apparently far enough removed to be out of danger. But no science to-day has established any claim to rise above humility, and both the science of industry, with the dynamic of profit-making, and that of economics, with the object of human material wellbeing, can well be quiet on a reading of this story, which has its lessons for us all.

PREFACE

A WORD may be said as to the origin of this volume. When the writer, in 1920, began his researches in England, he desired to investigate the attitude of organized religion to social and industrial problems. Such an investigation, however, naturally enough, had to be approached in the light of history. Consequently, a full year was spent in browsing over the general field : and, as a result, the author was driven to the conclusion that the Evangelical Movement, started by Wesley in the eighteenth century, rises supremely above any other religious movement affecting the social developments of the English-speaking world. Indeed, he believes the influence of this movement, in sowing the seeds of social righteousness and propagating the spirit of reform, stands without a peer in the annals of social emancipation, and that as yet, it has never been duly recognized by History. The study of this field, however, proved so rich in suggestion, that it soon became apparent that any reasonable treatment of the social influence of the Evangelical Movement, as a whole, would require the arduous labour of many years, and the publication of many volumes. Hence a further limitation of the subject proved essential : so, as Wesley was directing prophet of the Revival, and the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury its chief lay representative, carrying the torch of social progress to the very portals of our own generation, the author, therefore, decided to concentrate on the social endeavours of these remarkable men. The present volume, accordingly, is part of his study.

The division of this volume into two parts, the first dealing with Shaftesbury's ideals and aspirations, the second with the unparalleled crusade for social righteousness which he inspired and led, the writer believes justified, even at the expense of some repetition ; for the fact confronts us on every hand, that Shaftesbury's *work* can never be understood apart from his *faith*. Indeed, it was his faith that inspired the vision of the *New Society* for which he laboured, and that sustained his courage

to the last step of his journey. Therefore, if we would breathe the atmosphere in which his lifework was accomplished, we must needs have patience first to study the faith that dominated his career.

The author's thanks are specially due to Dean Matthews, Mr. R. H. Tawney, Professor Jenkins, Dr. Garvie, Mr. Arthur Black, Mr. Hugh Martin, Mr. George B. Wilson, Dr. William Poole, Mr. Headicar, Librarian of the London School of Economics, and to my publisher's "reader," for valuable suggestions and criticisms. Also he is indebted to the never-failing courtesy of the Library Staff at the British Museum.

J. WESLEY BREADY.

October, 1926.

PREFATORY NOTE TO CHEAP EDITION

THE author desires to express his warm appreciation of the wide and sympathetic reception which this book has received in all sections of the press. More than 325 press notices have already come to his hand from all quarters of the globe; and the well-nigh unanimous note of sympathy and interest which they have struck proves the importance of Shaftesbury's labours and the universality of his appeal.

Gradually this lonely peer, often dubbed by his generation a "monomaniac," is coming into his rightful place in history as our British Abraham Lincoln—the Emancipator of Industrial England. My hope, therefore, is that this Cheap Edition may carry the record of his life and labours to many thousands of readers who, having entered into the heritage of his life-crusade, nevertheless know him only as a name.

I desire, moreover, to express my appreciation of the boundless kindness of the present Earl of Shaftesbury, and other of the reformer's immediate descendants, for vivid personal reminiscences, and for enabling me to see, in "St. Giles House," Dorset, and in other centres of family interest, so much of the intimate side of my subject's life. Their helpfulness has thrown a penetrating light on many aspects of Shaftesbury's character and surroundings.

J. W. B.

October, 1927.

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Lord Shaftesbury and Social-Industrial Progress

PART I: HIS IDEALS AND ASPIRATIONS

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND EARLY YOUTH

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, in 1885, addressing his fellow peers, said: "My lords, the social reforms of the last century have not been due mainly to the Liberal Party. They have been due mainly to the influence, character and perseverance of one man—Lord Shaftesbury."[1] Endorsing this statement, Lord Salisbury exclaimed: "That I believe is a true representation of the facts." In 1877 Beaconsfield (Disraeli) declared: "The name of Lord Shaftesbury will descend to posterity as the one who has, in his generation, worked more than any other individual to elevate the condition, and to raise the character, of his countrymen."[2]

These are not isolated verdicts. Spurgeon, the world celebrated preacher, declared: "Among men I do not know whom I should place second, but I would certainly put Lord Shaftesbury first. . . . A man so firm in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, so intensely active in the cause of God and man, I have never known."[3] Again, from sources widely different come

[1] Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, *The Christian Attitude toward Democracy*, 1912.
[2] Hodder, Edwin, iii. p. 421.
[3] *A Biographical Sketch* (1885), Religious Tract Society. This publication contains a remarkable tribute by Sir Robert Fowler. Lord Mayor of London at the time of the Earl's death.

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equally remarkable tributes. Edmund Purcell, for instance, in his *Life of Cardinal Manning*, informs us that on December 29, 1894, the Cardinal wrote : " I have just ended *Lord Shaftesbury's Life* (by Edwin Hodder). It is a noble and unique Christian manhood. What a retrospect of work done ! It makes me feel that my life has been wasted. . . ." The conclusion of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Hammond, well-known authorities on the Industrial Revolution, is not less suggestive. The Hammonds scarcely attempt to conceal their impatience with Shaftesbury's religious convictions ; nevertheless, sheer weight of evidence draws from them, somewhat reluctantly, this verdict : " He did more than any single man, or any single Government in English history, to check the raw power of the new industrial system." [1]

To all students of social progress a knowledge of Shaftesbury is axiomatic. At the outset of this study, therefore, it behoves us to inquire briefly regarding the ancestry and early environment of our subject ; for certain youthful influences, to a remarkable degree, moulded his career.

With the six generations of hereditary nobility from which the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury sprang, we are not immediately concerned. Suffice it to say that the family was not without traces of ability and wit. The First Earl, who enjoyed preferment both under Commonwealth and Restoration Governments, was a man of numerous gifts ; but few biographers would venture to include high character among either his natural endowments or his acquired characteristics. Indeed, the First Earl apparently was possessed of so much adaptability and so little constancy that opportunism quickly dominated his political creed.[2] The Third Earl was an author and metaphysician of some repute ; [3] but the Second, Fourth and Fifth left no mark behind them. To these gentlemen, as to no small proportion of the nobility of their day, it was sufficient that they *were* Earls. Why sacrifice the excitement of banquet and sport for tedious labours, social or political ? Why dim their noble eyes by studying books—mere tools of vulgar workmen ? [4]

[1] J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury* (1923), 153.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*. Authorities have greatly differed in their estimates of the First Earl.

[3] He wrote *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions and Times*, which was highly praised by such Continental celebrities as Voltaire, Herder, Lessing and Diderot.

[4] See Defoe's charming satire, *The Compleat English Gentleman*.

Shaftesbury's father, the Sixth Earl, undoubtedly, was a man of parts ; unfortunately, however, those parts were so assembled as to make him a bad parent. For forty years he was Chairman of Committees in the Lords, and there he was judged a man of sagacity ; but, to his children, he was strangely lacking, even in ordinary humanity. His " harsh and dictatorial habits " had frozen up all natural affection, and his family stood in continual and fearful awe of him. This home atmosphere, however, apparently harmonized with his lordship's theory of discipline, for Edwin Hodder informs us that the Sixth Earl believed that to render a child obedient, it should be kept in constant fear of its parents.[1]

The mother of the future reformer, a daughter of the militant Marlborough family, was graced with little, if any, more tenderness and sympathy than the father. In truth, while the latter sought power and prestige in politics, the former was preoccupied with the allurements of smart society. To the Sixth Lady Shaftesbury the wit, the intrigue, the vanity, the display of exclusive drawing-rooms and scented courts were the breath of life.[2] Motherhood to her was forced duty. It had no radiant glory : it brought no divine aspirations : it opened no fountains of sacrificing love.[3]

Into this brilliant, but bleak, environment, on April 28, 1801, Anthony Ashley Cooper was born. But though little Anthony was denied the blessings of a father's companionship and a mother's love, his sensitive spirit found joy in the devotion of Maria Millis, an old servant in the household. This woman was, in truth, a God-send to the boy's life; for while his mother was rushing frivolously over the gaudy deserts of exclusive society, striving in vain to satisfy her thirst for fresh sensations, Maria Millis was winning the affection and moulding the character of a lad, destined to change the social outlook of the English-speaking world.[4] This nurse fed the boy's starving

[1] Hodder, Edwin, *Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury as Social Reformer*, 3.

[2] Taylor, Lucy, *The Children's Champion*, 14.

[3] Shaftesbury's works contain numerous affectionate references to his wife and children, but we look in vain for any such reference to his mother or father.

[4] Hodder, E., *Life and Work of Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury* (1887 edition), 19–20. Edwin Hodder is Shaftesbury's official biographer. He was engaged before the Earl's death, and was given free access to his Diary, private papers, letters, etc. The first publication appeared in 1886, in three volumes ; the following year Hodder published, in one volume, a Popular Edition, slightly

affections; but she did more: she told him, in simple style, stories of the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man. Like Abraham Lincoln's mother, she used to take the eager child upon her knee and read him long Bible passages, till finally the religious experience of Scripture characters became to him a living heritage: while also, Biblical imagery was gradually colouring his thought; and the spirit of Jesus was increasingly winning the devotion of his soul.[1] Indeed, Maria Millis was Shaftesbury's spiritual mother.

But a cloud of dense darkness was soon to cast a lingering shadow over the boy's horizon. At seven years of age he was sent to Manor House School, Chiswick, an institution since changed into an Insane Asylum, and which, from Shaftesbury's description, may itself have produced no inconsiderable demand for the change. At this establishment Anthony's sensitive spirit was submitted to continuous torture. "Bullying, foul language and general blackguardism" permeated the atmosphere; and little Anthony, like John Wesley before him,[2] stood in continual fear of the larger boys, who exhibited their manliness by playing the rôle of blaspheming ruffians. Indeed, so indelible was the impression left by this school, that, in old age, Shaftesbury said: "The memory of that place makes me shudder; it is repulsive to me even now. I think I never saw such a wicked school before or since. The place was bad, wicked, filthy; and the treatment was starvation and cruelty."[3] Another description pictures this institution as equally revolting: "Nothing could have surpassed it for filth, bullying, neglect, and hard treatment of every sort: nor had it in any respect any one compensating advantage, except perhaps it may have given me an early horror of oppression and cruelty. It was similar to Dotheboy's Hall."[4]

The blackest shadow, however, to cross the boy's pathway during this stormy period was cast by the death of Maria Millis.

abridged, but incorporating illustrations, not included in three-volume edition. In 1892 appeared a reprint of 1887 volume; and again in 1897 Hodder published a greatly condensed and entirely re-written volume, *Lord Shaftesbury as Social Reformer*. All are now out of print. In future references, "Life," or "Hodder," will refer to 1886 edition; "Pop. Ed" to one volume of 1887 or 1892; and "S. as Soc. Ref." to 1897 volume.

[1] Ruskin's Bible imagery, too, was absorbed as a child from his mother's teaching.

[2] Wesley's Diaries make several references to similar barbarism in his school.

[3] *Pop. Ed.*, 21. Shaftesbury's Diaries were never published, but Hodder has quoted them at great length.

[4] Hodder, i. 51.

Anthony had not been long at school, and was scarcely eight years old, when the news of this loss chilled his soul. His heart was wounded. During dreary months he mourned the death of his dear friend and could scarcely be consoled, for she, to him, was more than all the world beside. Indeed, had she not shown him the only human love he had yet known? A symbol of that sacred friendship, however, was left in the lad's possession. Maria bequeathed him her gold watch, as a remembrance of her love; and till the day of his death, in his eighty-fifth year, he carried no other. On one occasion, while visiting in a disreputable community, this watch was stolen from his pocket. He advertised, stating particulars; a settlement of thieves, dwelling near the scene of the theft, tracked down the traitor in their camp, and a few days later a sack, containing both the watch and the urchin who had stolen it, was deposited on Shaftesbury's doorstep: at the same moment the door bell was clamorously rung, and the two captors who brought the culprit, plus the recovered spoil, dashed off in a cab.[1] Till his last days Shaftesbury was fond of showing this watch to friends; and, on such occasions, almost invariably, he remarked: "That was given me by the best friend I ever had in the world."[2] Another instance of the abiding influence of this woman over Shaftesbury's career is the fact that, till death, he frequently repeated a prayer learned from her lips.[3]

The loneliness gnawing at Anthony's heart after Maria Millis's death, drove him still closer to her source of comfort. In spite of the raillery of school-fellows he applied himself to the study of Scripture with a new zeal. It now, in truth, was his one source of illumination, his only oasis in a desert of tyranny.[4]

With his spiritual mother gone, holidays at home were little, if any, more inviting than the savagery of Manor House. The lad's parents took no more interest in him than before; he was left entirely to servants, and no other servant had the loving heart of his old friend. Incredible, indeed, as the assertion seems, we have it on his own authority that the lad now knew

[1] See Report of *Ashley Mission* (quoted in *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 4). The thief was placed in school and given a fresh chance.

[2] *Pop. Ed.*, 21.

[3] R. E. Pengelly, *Lord Shaftesbury, Peer and Philanthropist*, 12; also *Pop. Ed.*, 20.

[4] Cf. Dickens's pictures of school life at this period, and even later.

what it meant, in his father's mansion, "to be left for days without sufficient food until he was pinched with starvation; and he could recall many weary nights in winter when he lay awake all through the long hours suffering from cold." [1] In one terse sentence, Shaftesbury has pictured his early "home": "The history of our father and mother would be incredible to most men, and perhaps it would do no good if such facts were recorded." [2] Nevertheless, sad as was his early lot, such familiarity with cold and hunger, with suffering and loneliness, unconsciously was fitting this nobleman to become the zealous champion of millions of disinherited children.[3]

His thirteenth year brought Anthony happiness, for he was then transferred from the Manor House School to Harrow. Here he felt like an emancipated slave; his whole personality expanded in the atmosphere of liberty. During school terms he was now happy, while during vacations he could stoically face both the severity of parents and the neglect of servants, for his spirits were buoyed up by the prospect of returning to the congenial environment of his new School.[4]

After two years' residence at Harrow, where he lived with Dr. Butler, the Head Master, Anthony was thrust into contact with a spectacle, which pierced his conscience and caused him to register a solemn vow. One day, walking alone down Harrow Hill, beside the School, the lad's attention was arrested by shrill shouts. He paused to ascertain from whence the uproar sprang; and standing in rapt attention, every nerve alert, he interpreted, above a general din, the clamorous notes of a Bacchanalian song. A minute later the riddle was solved. Down a side street came a band of intoxicated ruffians, followed by a group of ragged urchins. Four or five of the party were carrying a rough casket containing the remains of a fellow-workman; and, staggering forward, they were shouting the chorus of a vulgar song. Presently they arrived at the main street; and unable to control their half-paralysed limbs, in attempting to turn the corner, they lost what self-possession remained to them. Down they fell in

[1] *Pop. Ed.*, 22.

[2] Hodder, i. 106; Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury*, 2.

[3] In his Parliamentary and public speeches, Shaftesbury was not given to much personal reference; but, undoubtedly, the warmth and tenderness of his expressions, when pleading the cause of defenceless children, were augmented by the unhappy experiences of his own childhood.

[4] Even Harrow, in those days, was no paradise. One master, a poor sleeper, used to wake his boys at 4 a.m. and start them at their lessons.

a stupid heap, the casket crashing to earth. For a few moments Bedlam was loose. The coffin-bearers quarrelled and cursed; the urchins burst into laughter; while the rest of the party, by their jargon, increased the confusion. Finally the drunken wretches, extricating themselves, picked up the cracked casket, and, with renewed profanity, mingled with the strains of their gin song, continued the funeral march.[1]

The remains of an immortal being, born and raised in "Christian" England, were about to be placed in the earth with indignities ill-becoming the wildest savages in Central Africa.

All the while Anthony Ashley Cooper, fourteen years of age, stood riveted near the spot. His whole personality revolted from this spectacle; yet he could not choose but stay—and think. As soon as words came to him he exclaimed: "Good heavens! can this be permitted simply because the man was poor and friendless?" Then, as the last echoes of the Bacchanalian song were dying in the distance, the future reformer, to whose memory all true men will ever pay homage, uttered a silent prayer, and dedicated his life to a Purpose—the uplift of the down-trodden and oppressed.[2]

Of the sincerity of that prayer, and the completeness of that dedication we may judge by the fruits of a long life spent in unswerving devotion to outcast humanity.[3]

[1] Visitors to Harrow can to-day largely reconstruct the setting of this historic scene. Here surely is a subject for a second Hogarth.

[2] Ten years later, another incident must have influenced Shaftesbury's thought. On March 2, 1825, his younger brother, Hon. F. A. Cooper, fifteen years of age, quarrelled with a boy Wood, a fellow-collegian at Eton, two years his senior. A fight ensued, which, apparently, the whole college turned out to witness; and both boys were "constantly plied, between the rounds, with neat brandy." The result was that Ashley's brother dropped dead. At the coroner's inquest, a verdict of "manslaughter" was returned against Wood and certain masters of Eton, but the accused were acquitted "on the grounds that the quantity of brandy administered to young Ashley Cooper during the fight had as much to do with his death as the fight itself" (*Times*, March 3, 1825; also *Times* exactly a century later, also March 5, 1925, "A Fatal Fight at Eton"). Mr. Joseph McCabe, in *1825–1925: A Century of Stupendous Progress*, refers to the principal in this fight as the "*son* of the Earl of Shaftesbury, *the famous philanthropist and Churchman*." This careless error is by no means the only misleading statement in this interesting book. Its anti-clerical bias is intensely amusing.

[3] To-day, on a wall of Harrow School, a tablet commemorates Shaftesbury's resolution.

CHAPTER II

FURTHER PREPARATION AND YOUTHFUL ASPIRATIONS

SHAFTESBURY, like many another great man, was severe with himself, and frequently he under-rated his own worth.[1] A fragmentary memorandum, written late in life, informs us that he left Harrow " soon after fifteen years of age," having reached the Sixth Form, but " having learned very little." Then he adds: " But this was my own fault. Though I obtained some prizes I was, on the whole, idle and fond of amusements, and I neglected most opportunities of acquiring knowledge." True, Ashley left Harrow without any brilliant showing; but on one occasion, at least, he gave practical expression to his life's purpose. Choosing " Duck-Puddle, a mosquito-breeding pond," near the school, as a subject for Latin verse, he so exposed the nature of this pestilence as to bestir the authorities; and the nuisance, accordingly, was remedied.

After leaving Harrow, Anthony was sent to reside with a relative, a " high and dry " clergyman, in Derbyshire. The frank purpose of this move was to get the boy " out of the way," for his parents had little desire to be bothered with him.[2] Here a horse and dogs were his constant companions; and he took great delight in rambling unrestrained through the woods. Hence, although, in manhood, he frequently referred to these two years as painfully " misspent," the relaxation of this period, during which he " hardly ever opened a book," was strengthening his constitution for labours ahead. Moreover, the lad was thinking, for, in his memorandum, we read: " There were constantly floating in my mind all sorts of aspirations."

[1] This is a phenomenon characteristic of profoundly religious men. Compare the self-condemnations of St. Paul, St. Augustine and John Bunyan. Shaftesbury's conviction was that sincere religion humbles a man in the same degree as it exalts his courage.

[2] Shaftesbury's Diary, *Pop. Ed.*, 27.

Up to this time Anthony's father had intended him for the army, but to the youth's delight, his parent was now dissuaded by a friend from this intention ; so, in 1819, he was taken up to Christ Church, Oxford, and placed under the tuition of Rev. V. Short, " a kind, worthy man." The first question put by the tutor was painfully direct : " Do you intend, sir, to take a degree ? " Ashley's reply was characteristic both of his modesty and his determination : " I cannot say, but I will try." [1] How well he tried may be judged from the fact that three years later he carried off his degree in Classics with first-class honours.[2]

Of Ashley's life at Oxford little is known. But half a century later, the Bishop of Adelaide, an old fellow-student, in a public address, said : " I well remember watching Lord Ashley,[3] day after day, walking up the great hall of that ancient house on his way to lecture ; assiduous in his duties, diligent in his studies ; and I remember thinking : ' If this is a specimen of the English aristocracy, we have in the Lords an institution which has no rival throughout the world.' "

The four years between graduation and active public life, were absorbed by Continental travel and reading, together with hard study.[4] Certain flashlights on the young lord's manner of life, during these years, are provided in his Journal of " fugitive and desultory notes." On August 25, 1825, for instance, he employed his time versifying " half of the twenty-seventh Psalm." On October 13th of the same year, he notes : " I have a great mind to found a policy upon the Bible ; in public observing the strictest justice, and not only cold justice, but active benevolence. That is good towards individuals : is it so toward nations ? It is certainly less practicable. Generosity in private affairs is strength to the giver with little hazard ; in empires it confers the discreditable charge of imprudence with

[1] Pengelly, Ed., *Lord Shaftesbury, Peer and Philanthropist*, 12.

[2] Shaftesbury's modesty was again expressed on hearing the result of his exams. He spoke of it as the greatest surprise he ever had (Lucy Taylor, *The Children's Champion*, 25).

[3] In 1811, when his father became a peer, Anthony took the honorary title " Lord Ashley," and by this title he was known until his father's death, forty years later (1851), when he succeeded to the earldom. The present treatise does not deal with Shaftesbury's work in strictly chronological order ; therefore, up till 1851 we shall refer to our subject as either Ashley or Shaftesbury : but, after 1851, " Ashley " will be dropped.

[4] During this period, however, while residing in Vienna, Ashley had an unfortunate love affair. His Diary, April 28, 1826, reads : " Man never loved more furiously or more imprudently. The object was and is an angel, but she was surrounded by, and would have brought with her, a halo of hell."

great danger, through the increased force of the rival nation, and no gratitude. But justice—raw justice—is the *Shekinah* of governments." This statement is suggestive of the moulds of thought in which Ashley's mind was working, even before he entered Parliament. Again, on April 5th following, he writes: "People talk of the Divine Rights of Kings. No man has a divine right to anything except salvation, and that he may lose by his own negligence." [1]

On his twenty-fifth birthday, Ashley made a long and characteristic entry in his Diary, expressing much self-depreciation, considerable reprobation of "mental indolence," and an ever-latent fear that his aspirations for social righteousness might, perhaps, be too closely related to personal ambitions. But beneath all distrust of self, the dominating prayer of his life expresses itself; for the entry breathes a sustained yearning that both he and his country shall be so purified by God that they may be used as instruments in His service for the "increase of religion and true happiness." Then, passing from personal and national to international considerations, the Diary reads: "Nor did I leave the *world* out of my calculations. England was to have been the fountain and our *globe* the soil to have been watered by her; may she do it yet, though I fear, unless God administer the healing branch, the stream will be very corrupt! But He has perhaps other nations in view for the honour of vicegerency; let us hope not; nay, I may say 'let us try not.' . . . But happen what may, between now and the fulfilment of all things, He will eventually restore happiness to the world, and may He do so by the service of our country." [2]

In June, 1826, when twenty-five, Ashley, after an exciting election, was returned M.P. for Woodstock, and on November 16th following, he wrote: "Took the oaths of Parliament with great good will; . . . prayer for assistance in my thoughts and deeds." Two years' Parliamentary experience passed by, however, before he discovered the craggy steeps up which destiny was to beckon. But having once discovered the scene of his labours, he was not disheartened by bleak horizons. On the contrary, the challenge put iron in his blood and nerved him for his task. In the meantime, however, during these two years' Parliamentary

[1] Consciously or unconsciously, these words were taken from the lips of John Wesley, for both in his *Sermons* and *Journal* they frequently occur.

[2] Shaftesbury's patriotic creed was not "My country *against* the world," but "My country *for* the world."

apprenticeship, he was studious and observant, but still so distrustful of his abilities that he dreaded the thought of open controversy. A perusal of his Diary entries provides conclusive evidence of the hopes, the doubts, the fears, now burning in this soul.

On February 22, 1827, he wrote: "I want nothing but usefulness to God and my country." He desired service to God and man; yet he feared his abilities were in no wise proportionate to his aspirations. Hence, five weeks later, he exclaimed: "Would to Heaven I could quit public life and sink down into an ambition proportionate to my capacity." Like Moses and St. Paul, however, Shaftesbury came, as weeks sped on, to take comfort in the belief that God could use weak instruments, if surrendered to His will, for mighty tasks. His part was humbly to do his best, and leave the rest to God. Thus, on April 17th, he wrote: "Be content to do good in secret, and hold display as a bauble compared with the true interests of God and the kingdom." The following day, his Diary note runs: "Entertained yesterday strong opinion that I ought *not* to give up public business, or rather the endeavour to qualify myself for it. The State may want me, wretched ass as I am!"

On August 9, 1827, hearing of the death of Canning, the Prime Minister, Shaftesbury concluded his Diary entry thus: "Offered up a slight prayer for His support in case of trial—convinced that unless religion be our guide, religion our beginning, religion our end, there is neither happiness in power, nor utility in its influence." [1] It must be remembered, however, as we shall see later, that by religion Shaftesbury meant no species of ceremonialism, or hierarchical domination, but rather an ardent desire to apply the ethic of Jesus to all problems: individual, social, national and international. Hence, in this spirit we find his lordship daring to commit what to some politicians was the unpardonable sin; he analysed patriotism. His Diary, November 4, 1827, reads: "Patriotism, the cause of so many actions, is but a *secondary* virtue, though none seems more beautiful when we read of its doings. It could not therefore be enjoined directly by the Gospel. It is allowed to the passions and difficulties of our race." [2] The young M.P., there-

[1] Hodder's *Life* is chronological, and Diary entries can easily be found from dates alone.

[2] This was an exceedingly radical statement, but, like all Shaftesbury's radicalism, it was deduced from his religion. He realized that patriotism

fore, had already come to the conclusion that patriotism is no sacred idol, credulously to be worshipped because of its magic power: it is no substitute for religion.

Indeed, reflections mirrored in Shaftesbury's Diary, during his first two years in Parliament, show that although he had not yet made a speech, he nevertheless was thinking deeply; and all his thought was directed by a social, ethical and religious interpretation of life. On December 17, 1827, he wrote: "Whether I shall ever be well off or not, God alone knows; but this I pray, that never asking for wealth, should it be sent me, I may receive at the same time a heart and spirit to lay it out for man's happiness and God's glory." [1] By the same entry we learn that he was gradually acquiring more self-confidence: "I am bound to try what God has put into me for the benefit of old England." Again, when Wellington was sounding him regarding office, he wrote: "God protect me and encourage me in a career of honour and right-mindedness, and may He give me also discretion and calmness to reflect; and now that office can no longer be avoided, I pray the Heavenly Father to give me the will to discharge my duty, and the strength to perform it; to found all in His glory, and by seeking the welfare of mankind to render my public and private thoughts a means of furthering the love of His religion."

Shortly afterwards Ashley accepted office, under Wellington, as Commissioner of the India Board of Control; and from the hour of appointment he set himself, in assiduous application, to a study of Indian problems, with the result that he soon came out strongly against the ghastly practice of Sutteeism: the burning of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres. On daring, however, to express his convictions before the Board of Control, he was sneered at as an impractical idealist. Indeed, referring to this occasion nearly thirty years later, he declared: "I was put down at once as if I was a madman; I was wondered at for even daring to mention such a thing." [2] Such protests, nevertheless, were not without influence; for, the following year, Lord William Bentinck was appointed to the command in India; and "with a stroke of his pen" he suppressed this revolting practice. Yet none of the revolutionary outbursts, foretold by

was not enjoined by the Gospels as a duty, because it had so frequently been used to foster the narrow-nationalism that divides mankind, rather than the great humanities which unite all peoples.

[1] *Pop. Ed.*, 43.

[2] Speech, Oct. 30, 1857.

the prophets of gloom, ensued; and Shaftesbury, praising Bentinck for his faith and courage, exclaimed: "His Lordship appealed to those great principles of the human heart, which are implanted by the hand of God. . . . If you appeal to conscience, depend upon it the millions will go along with you."

His experience on the India Board seems to have further diminished his self-distrust; for, three weeks after accepting office, he made his first real speech in the Commons. This effort was on behalf of lunatics: and though Hansard refers to it as "nearly inaudible in the gallery," yet Shaftesbury had so marshalled his evidence that his case was clearly established; and when he sat down he had won increased respect from many listeners. A Diary reference reads: "And so by God's blessing, my first effort has been made for the advancement of human happiness. May I improve hourly." [1]

"For the advancement of human happiness"! In that phrase the purpose of a career stands revealed. Concerning the treatment of lunatics, more shall be said in due course. The important thing to remember here, is that Ashley had now crossed his Rubicon, and was facing life's challenge.

[1] Feb. 20, 1828.

CHAPTER III

HIS RELIGIOUS CREED

ALREADY one might conclude that religious conviction provided the ruling principle of Shaftesbury's life; and such a deduction would be correct. To him practical Christianity was "all-sufficient"; and the cardinal article of his creed was the application of the spirit of Jesus to all phases of life. Like Wilberforce, the emancipator, Shaftesbury's purpose was to impregnate the social and political system with Christian values: like Wilberforce, consequently, he, too, was called a "wild enthusiast," and was "opposed by wealth, blood, literary influence and aristocracy,"[1] whose conservative tendencies, or vested interests, ran counter to his reforms. Yet, fearlessly, he marched on, never condescending to make his "holy cause" subservient to factional advantage.

To appreciate the substance of Shaftesbury's religious creed, let us pause and briefly compare his social outlook with that of his contemporary Karl Marx, High Priest of International Socialism. Shaftesbury was seventeen when Marx was born;[2] he delivered his first speech in Parliament just twenty years before Marx published his *Communist Manifesto*,[3] and he outlived the Militant Socialist by two years. Hence Shaftesbury could scarcely have been ignorant of the tenets of Marx's teaching, especially as the two men had not a little in common. Both challenged the existing social order and pointed toward the dawn of a New Day; both felt supreme contempt for hypocrisy and cherished an ardent devotion to sincerity; both fought the rulers

[1] See *Life of Wm. Wilberforce*, by his sons, 250–63. Also *Wilberforce*, by Professor R. Coupland (1923). This delightful volume contains plenty of evidence to refute the popular verdict that Wilberforce's concentration on "Emancipation" made him blind to a "more terrible slavery" at home. Place, Cobbett and Hazlitt were chief propagators of that verdict (421 ff.).

[2] Marx was born at Trèves, May 5, 1818.

[3] The *Manifesto* was forerunner, by nineteen years, of *Kapital*, which was written in the British Museum, and published 1867.

of wickedness in high places and pleaded the cause of the hopeless and disinherited; both endured contumely, for others' sake. Both revolted against flagrant and deeply rooted injustice; but the remedies they applied had no common ingredient. Each, indeed, had the vision of a new and better world; but the forces they would set in motion for the realization of their respective ideals, marked them as men of vastly different spirit. Shaftesbury's reform policy was based on the Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of a loving God. To him Heaven must needs be the prototype and living ideal of any true system of human relationships; and his conception of the Kingdom of God on Earth, a reflection of perfect righteousness in Heaven, provided the dynamic for his social endeavours. Shaftesbury believed that all faithful Christians were called to be "co-labourers with God" in establishing social righteousness among their fellows; and when he prayed, "Thy will be done on Earth as it is done in Heaven," he was quoting no idle petition but rather was he renewing his covenant with God, to strive afresh for justice in all human relationships, for "peace and good will among men." Marx, on the contrary, agitated for a class war, which he believed must be achieved by stimulating the hatred of all disinherited members of society against capitalists: by ranking all "Have-Nots" in bloody contest against all "Haves"; and his faith in the "inexorable laws of economics" provided the doctrine from which he drew justification for his endeavours. The outlook of the one man, therefore, was spiritual; that of the other materialistic: the method of one, conversion; of the other, revolution. Shaftesbury was sceptical of Marx's "economic laws"; Marx was contemptuous of Shaftesbury's ideals and, in fact, colour-blind to all religious values.

But before enlarging on Shaftesbury's creed, it may narrow the issues and make contrasts clearer to analyse the principles behind Marx's work. In the first place it must be remembered that to Marx all legal systems, all religious institutions, all forms of Government, all codes of ethic—indeed, all social organizations whatsoever, are but peculiar expressions of economic conditions, "which have given them birth."[1] In other words, Marx was quite insensible to the power of religious, ethical and philosophical

[1] B. Russell, *Roads to Freedom*, 28 f., for brief, but suggestive, analysis of Marx's thought.

systems, except inasmuch as those systems reflected what he conceived to be *distorted* rays of economic light. Consequently, accepting economic law as the dominant force of life, he deduced three corollary principles: (1) A materialistic interpretation of all society; (2) an increasing concentration of capital, until finally social bondage will become unbearable; (3) a class war which will tear the chains of tyranny from the necks of the proletariat, and set them free. Marx then, it becomes obvious, believed in progress by *revolution*, not by *evolution*; and in his teaching he attached great importance to two revolutions: first, the French Revolution, by which, he claimed, the *bourgeoisie* freed themselves from the tyranny of Feudalism; second, the Future and Great Revolution, whereby wage earners, after learning the principle of international co-operation, shall rise against the *bourgeoisie*, overthrow them, and establish the Socialist Commonwealth, wherein freedom and happiness shall be the birthright of all.[1]

Consequently, Marx taught that the present organization of society, which he called Capitalistic, must necessarily, and of itself, generate forces which finally would overthrow it. His business, therefore, he claimed, was not so much to advocate as *predict* the final Revolution, thus enabling the disinherited to speed on the inevitable conflict, and enter sooner into their promised land. Wisely, however, this Pope of Materialistic Socialism did not stop to explain just how the Proletariat, after slaying off their oppressors in successful warfare, were going to subdue their long-stimulated appetite for bloodshed, and live at peace and good will among themselves in their Socialist Utopia.[2]

In contrast with Marx's materialistic and inexorable laws of economics, Shaftesbury's whole philosophy of life was spiritual, and in his religion he found his inspiration for social endeavours. Indeed, so marked was the spiritual tenor of his life that all his language was coloured by Biblical metaphor; and it is an easy task to trace in every speech left behind him, whether delivered in or out of Parliament, a conscious effort to apply Christian ethics to the subject in question. For instance, speaking from

[1] Marx's *Communist Manifesto* and *Encyclopædia Britannica*. A careful study of Marx's massive work, *Kapital*, is scarcely necessary for understanding the philosophy of his system.

[2] It has been wittily, but truthfully, said that the creed of the *Marxian* Socialist is: "I worship No-God, and Karl Marx is his prophet."

the chair, at the annual dinner of Sturminster's Agricultural Society, 1843, to privileged landlords in his own constituency, he dealt with the charge that " poverty and oppression " were being inflicted on the labouring population of their district; and having stated the charge, he added: " I confess that as your compatriot and representative, I had rather incur your utmost displeasure, and even the hazard of forfeiting your friendship, than refrain from declaring, fully, freely and immediately that these things ought not to be." [1] He then reminded his constituents that " neither honour, nor safety, nor joy," can be expected in a " house, however fair the outside, which rests on such rotten and crumbling foundations." [2] Further on, describing these perversions as " hotbeds of misery and sin," which " afflict and devour their victims," he pointed out that even cold justice demanded a cure; while, concluding, he expressed his deepest convictions: " But let us draw our resolutions from a higher source, recollecting that all wealth, talent, rank and power, are given by God for His own service, not for luxury; for the benefit of others, not for the pride of ourselves; and that we must render an account of privileges misused, of means perverted, of opportunities thrown away." [3]

Hundreds of similar expressions may be found in Shaftesbury's speeches. From what school of thought, then, sprang his religious philosophy? There can be no two answers. On occasions innumerable he exclaimed: " I am an Evangelical of Evangelicals "; nevertheless he always disowned the honour of leadership in that party, and asserted himself to be merely a follower. Like John Wesley, the father of Evangelicalism, Shaftesbury stood not for philosophical subtleties, ceremonial mysteries, or casuistical niceties, but simply for " plain, vital, practical religion ": moreover, again following the master-spirit of his school, he was ready to join hands with all zealous Christians, whatever their name, if only they desired to enthrone the spirit and ethic of the Man of Galilee in all human relationships—personal, social, national and international. Shaftesbury strove for Christian unity on the basis of ethical and spiritual principles, and he opposed movements which, he believed,

[1] *Speeches*, 88.

[2] Shaftesbury came into open conflict with his father over this speech, and there was much coldness among his electors (Hodder, i. 519–22, and ii. 79–80).

[3] " Condition of Working Population," *Speeches*, 90.

centred their energies upon hierarchical, sacerdotal, or sacramentarian interpretations of religion, to the forgetfulness of ethical responsibilities. Indeed, to him "Christianity, as applied, is absolutely and essentially practical"; [1] consequently he was ever ready to work with those who recognized this practical nature of New Testament teaching, and desired to express it in every-day life. He dissented only from those who tended to obscure the practical by over-emphasis on the mysterious, the ritualistic, or the rationalistic.

Thus, though an Anglican himself, Shaftesbury was a friend of Nonconformity, for he contended that true Christian unity could only be accomplished by mutual acceptance of the *Spirit* of Christ—not by Parliamentary legislation, or pressure by the Establishment. Therefore, he fought heroically to abolish the law penalizing worshippers in "unlicensed places"; and as a result of such agitation in 1855, this conscience-curbing Act was repealed, with the consequence that in Exeter Hall, and other places, thousands of unchurched workmen were drawn to worship: some for the first time in their lives. In his speech, delivered before the Lords on the Second Reading of the Religious Worship Act Amendment Bill, 1857, Shaftesbury gave frank expression to his own conclusions on this subject.[2] He claimed that working people were not treated with "propriety and respect" when they entered Churches of the Establishment, that they were "pewed up to their very eyes, shut out from places where they can hear and be well accommodated, and not placed on a footing of equity with the rest of the congregation." [3] Then, appealing to Conscience, he continued: "You find nooks and corners reserved for the working classes; you have free seats set apart for them; . . . they think they are despised and treated as beings of a secondary order. Unless therefore you show them proper respect, and in the House of God admit that there at least is equality, depend upon it the vast proportion of the labouring population in London will never be brought to attend the worship of the Establishment." [4]

[1] Speech on "Y.M.C.A.," Manchester, March 25, 1856.

[2] Owing to interference by the Incumbent of that parish, Exeter Hall services had been stopped.

[3] "Second Reading, Religious Worship Act Amendment Bill," 9.

[4] In early days of the Evangelical Movement several ministers of the Establishment were severely rebuked, and some even persecuted, for filling their churches with working people. Many churches, moreover, closed their doors to Wesley because of his plain speaking. Lives of Newton, Roumaine, Simeon, the Milners, Venn, etc., provide ample evidence of this truth.

Finally, he reminded his lordly hearers that a continuance of such evils was " an outrage against the people," and tantamount to a declaration " that the Church of England is not to instruct, but to deny instruction and coerce those who attempt to impart it." [1]

Only a man of faith could so criticize an institution he loved; and it was because he was a member of " the Church " that Shaftesbury strove to rouse her to greater appreciation of her responsibility toward the labouring world. Thus, in his Diary, December 1, 1844, we read: " A melancholy sight: the parish church with a handful of ' genteel folks ' and not twenty square inches of space for the vulgar fry; choked up by monopolizing pews, excluding and affronting the working man." [2]

In the hands of some nominal Evangelicals, the cardinal Protestant doctrine, " Salvation by Faith," has degenerated into a sickly sentimentality. Indeed, there have been occasions when the interpretation of this doctrine has presented the spectacle of a strong man sitting by a cosy fire-place, pampering and doctoring himself till at last he became a pitiable invalid, incapable of service, and deaf to duty. Such a condition is a prostitution of Protestantism, and certainly no such charge could be brought against Shaftesbury's creed. The Earl gloried in " Salvation by Faith "; but, like Luther, he maintained that there could be no living faith without *works* of love.[3] To him, as to St. James, " faith without works is dead." [4] Hence he considered it the primary duty of Christian endeavour to inspire men's lives with faith, which, in turn, would produce service, and impel the establishment of God's Kingdom on Earth. The Christian must show by his works the glory of his faith; he must see in every human being, however degraded, the latent image of the creating God, and therefore a spirit capable of redemption; he must find in every injustice a challenge to endeavour. He must kindle the fire of his enthusiasm at Heaven's high altars, and with that torch, carry God's light to earth's darkest bounds. To Shaftesbury, as to all ardent Evangelicals, faith is illumination, dynamic: it is divine and restless energy for human betterment, a yearning to see the will of God " done on earth as in Heaven."

[1] " Second Reading, Religious Worship Act Amendment Bill," 12.

[2] Hodder, ii. 79.

[3] Shaftesbury wrote " Preface " to a *Life of Martin Luther*, and there expressed himself emphatically on this subject.

[4] See Epistles of St. James and St. John. Wesley and all Evangelicals laid strong emphasis on this point.

Thus Shaftesbury was Evangelical, not because the Evangelical School boasted a complicated theology, not because it expressed itself in æsthetic and elaborate ritual, not because it made proud claims to infallibility in all matters pertaining to faith and doctrine; but because it represented an ardent endeavour to appreciate the spirit of Jesus, and to apply that spirit to all the complicated problems of human relationship. He was Evangelical because that school, if true to itself, stood for practical reform, and because it left its followers free to formulate their own definitions on theological subjects. "Dost thou love and fear God?" asked Wesley. "It is enough! I give thee the right hand of fellowship."[1] Shaftesbury's creed might be just as simply expressed: indeed, it was because of this school's persistent emphasis on practical activity that Shaftesbury, late in life, reviewing his century's developments, could exclaim: "I am satisfied that most of the great philanthropic movements of the century have sprung from them" (the Evangelicals).[2]

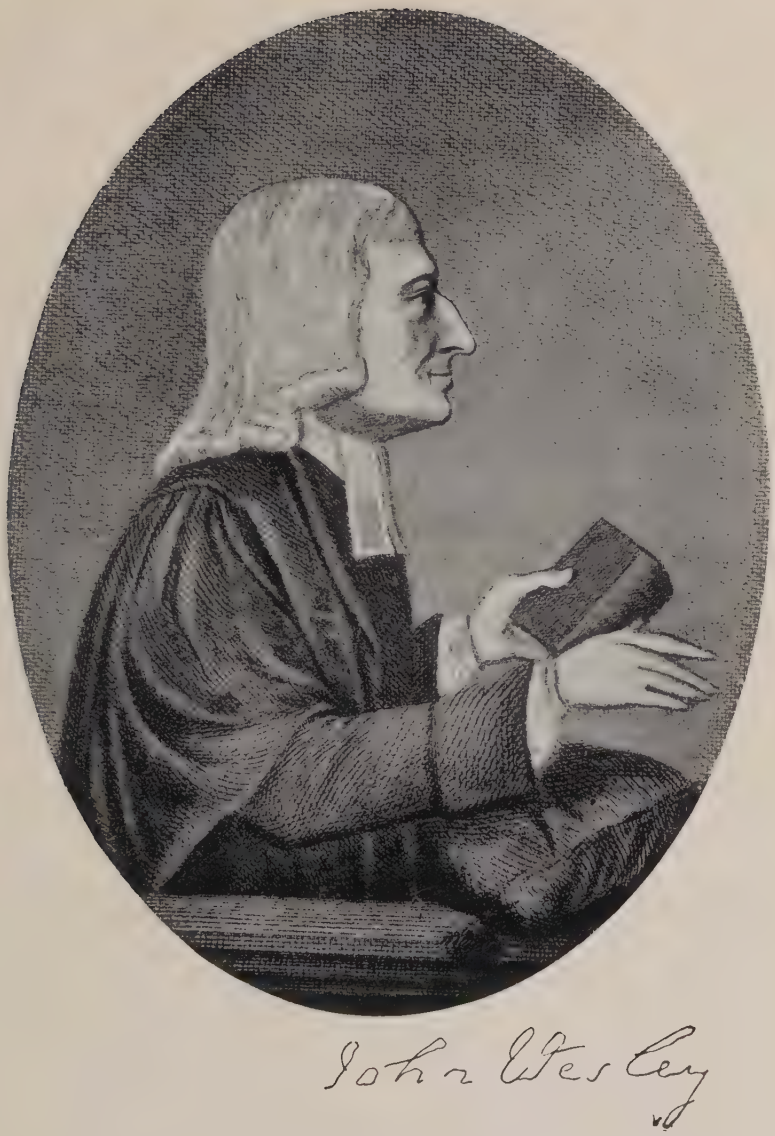
How then did this doctrine express itself in Shaftesbury's career? A zealous assertion of the principle of *stewardship* and an unflinching hatred of materialism were among its most striking manifestations. Shaftesbury continually taught that all wealth and privilege, honourably acquired, were trusts from God; and their recipients would be held responsible to God for the use of His gifts. Thus every form of pompous luxury and arrogant display was given a death-blow. To "the Good Earl" all men were brothers because of God's common Fatherhood; and a selfish use of wealth, privilege, ability—the property of God—was a flagrant denial of that brotherhood. Consequently Shaftesbury stuck close to the teaching that doing good with money and abilities "stamps the image of God upon them and makes them pass current for the merchandise of Heaven"; while a selfish abuse of these trust-privileges means not only the final ruin of the spendthrift, who denies his trust, but the latent robbery of his fellow-men, who are justified in expecting service through those gifts.[3]

Shaftesbury's *hatred of materialism* is reflected a thousand

[1] Wesley was emphatic on this pragmatic aspect of Christianity. See *Earnest Appeal to Men of Faith and Religion.*

[2] *Pop. Ed.*, 519.

[3] See Wesley's Sermon, "Use of Money," for powerful demonstration of this teaching. Again, the late General Booth said: "Give me your money and I will cleanse it. I will wash it in the tears of the fatherless and lay it on the altar of Humanity."



JOHN WESLEY (1703–91)

Wesley was Shaftesbury's spiritual father, and was considered by him the greatest character in modern history

(*From an engraving by T. Holloway*)

times in his Speeches and Diaries, to say nothing of his life struggle to emancipate spiritual values in social organization. He ever taught that " high standards alone excite high efforts " ; that noble ideals are necessary forerunners of worthy achievements ; that great faith must precede great work. The spiritual world was, for him, the atmosphere in which all true aspirations have birth ; the material world, on the other hand, was a neutral power, good or ill according to the nature of the ideals controlling it. Indeed, it might truly be said that Shaftesbury conceived of the material world as a super-giant, potential of great services to mankind if directed by spiritual will ; but, contrariwise, if manipulated by the spirit of abandon, he thought of it as a titanic engine of death, capable of grinding humanity to powder. Thus unconsciously, because of his faith, Shaftesbury was ahead of most contemporaries in his attitude toward the marvels of scientific discovery. He advocated all reverent search for truth ; [1] he enthusiastically espoused the cause of education, and persistently ridiculed the hoary doctrine that " ignorance and excessive labour are the best guarantees of tranquillity." [2] He rejoiced, moreover, in the possibilities of scientific development ; [3] yet, more than most men, he foresaw in this new-found power *destructive* as well as *constructive* potentialities. He conceived of science as a non-moral force, serving either justice or tyranny, according to the nature of the spirit controlling it.

This reformer was convinced that all man-discovered truths were, none the less, God-revealed truths ; therefore he contended that it ill-fitted science to put on airs : and, by so doing, he believed she exhibited herself in the robes of the mountebank, rather than those of the prophet of progress. To him *all* truth was of God and therefore sacred ; nevertheless, in order to protect her members from delusions masquerading in the vestments of Revelation he maintained that society must be careful to examine well the claims put forward for the discovery of new aspects of truth. Shaftesbury, consequently, was a *radical* inasmuch as he believed in dedicating all newly discovered truth to man's

[1] His well-known opposition to some branches of " Higher Criticism " was largely due to a belief that much of this research was directed by *negative* motives.

[2] Speech, " Labour of Children in Calico Print-Works," 23. Compare with Paley's *Advice to Labouring Population*. See also Shaftesbury's *Talks with the People*, on " Education."

[3] See his various speeches before National Association for Promotion of Social Science.

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service ; a *conservative* inasmuch as he demanded that all professing truths should be well-proven before being accepted as new revelations.[1] Thus Shaftesbury would have agreed with Professor Eucken : " A religion dependent upon mere human culture, a religion trailing at the heels of every superficial and temporary movement, is a miserable and invertebrate thing " ;[2] but he would have agreed further that it is, nevertheless, the business of religion to " test the spirits " demanding, in the name of science, human obeisance, and to dedicate to religious use those having proven their creative worth by well-authenticated service to mankind.

But this emphasis on the supremacy of spiritual values over the material world was ever-present in Shaftesbury's thought. He continually warned Britain's youth against mercenary wretches " who erect capital into a divinity and worship it with ten times more intensity than the God who created them." [3] He loathed the audacity of rapacious minds which invert the Biblical precept, " Godliness is gain," and make material gain to appear as godliness. Moreover, in all his labours for the care and development of men's bodies he was inspired by the belief that the body is " the temple of the spirit," and therefore sacred. Consequently, because men's bodies are the earthly " tabernacles," in which their personalities or souls dwell, Shaftesbury conceived it a primary religious duty to provide for them a clean social environment, tending to nurture robust physical health.[4]

A devoted Protestant, Shaftesbury was ever ready to co-operate in practical service with those who drew their inspiration from different sources. In 1829, he voted for Catholic Emancipation ; and in his dauntless struggle for the salvation of Britain's women and children from the cruelty of industrial pressure, he rejoiced in quoting the Roman Catholic Primate of Normandy : " Open your eyes and behold ! Parents and masters demand of the young plants to produce fruit in season of blossoms. By excessive and prolonged labour they exhaust the rising sap,

[1] Shaftesbury, for example, was a sworn friend of public health and a staunch advocate of medical science ; nevertheless vivisection, with its torture to animals, insulted his humanity, and he opposed it bitterly.

[2] *Main Currents of Modern Thought* (1908), 477.

[3] *Speeches*, 296.

[4] Speech on " Health, Physical Condition, Moral Habits and Education." Keir Hardie's social crusade was inspired by religious conviction akin to Shaftesbury's. Raised an Atheist, Hardie was converted in an Evangelical meeting. Afterwards he became an Evangelist ; and the whole dynamic of his social crusade was provided by religion.

caring but little that they leave them to vegetate and perish on a withered and tottering stem. Poor little children! May the laws hasten to extend their protection over your existence, and may posterity read with astonishment, on the front of this age, so satisfied with itself, that in these days of progress and discovery there was needed an iron law to forbid the murder of children by excessive labour." [1]

Finally, Shaftesbury's creed never ceased to emphasize the sanctity of *personality* over *property*; and to urge the God-imposed duty of cleansing the atmosphere from all vicious diseases, mental and physical, "spawned in the cesspools" of social corruption. Hence he pointed, with shame, to the incongruity that society treated many "as swine when children, and later expected them to walk with the dignity of Christians." [2] To Britain's foremost reformer it was a primary demand of Christianity that society create an environment conducive to symmetrical growth; and for him symmetrical growth meant such development as that of the child Jesus, who "increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man." During his half-century crusade for child-welfare, Shaftesbury never wavered on this point. Continually he preached that it should be the birthright of every "Christian" child, to breathe the air of a clean community-life, and to aspire toward well-balanced robust health.[3] Therefore he strove unceasingly to awaken in his countrymen a national responsibility for so purging social surroundings that all children, like the boy Jesus, might become heirs of harmonious growth, and develop mentally, physically, spiritually, socially.

[1] "Children not Protected by Factory Acts" (August 4, 1840, H. of C.), 28. This, like many other of Shaftesbury's speeches, was printed in pamphlet.

[2] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 130–1.

3. Compare this ideal with conditions against which the Ragged Schools battled (C. J. Montague, *Sixty Years in Waifdom*, "The Scholars," 46–99).

CHAPTER IV

SHAFTESBURY'S POLITICAL AXIOMS

TURNING from religion to politics, we are, really, examining only another aspect of the principle which directed Shaftesbury's career.

No one can read his political addresses without realizing that certain significant phrases were repeatedly on his lips; and among those oft-reiterated phrases, none is more expressive of his outlook than the assertion: "What is morally right can never be politically wrong, and what is morally wrong can never be politically right."[1] Indeed, reflecting on this simple, but radical phrase, we penetrate to the heart of Shaftesbury's political doctrine. For him politics was neither a game of strategy nor a philosophy of opportunism; neither a shuffle for party advantage nor a scramble to protect vested interests. Quite the contrary! To the "Emancipator of Industrial England" politics meant the opportunity of dedicating one's best to public service; and his career was an attempt to achieve that ideal. Shaftesbury, however, was convinced that one's best could only be rendered by holding fast to principles; and his most fundamental principle was the supremacy of ethical values in all political life. Hence to him ethical standards can only be sacrificed at a nation's peril, and the one hope of national or imperial greatness lies in exalting such ideals as inspire true endeavour. Consequently Shaftesbury always associated national *morality* with national *immortality*; and frequently he prayed for that ideal day when we shall be able to speak of "the immortal, because the moral glories of the British Empire."[2]

In devotion to Truth, Shaftesbury stood on common ground with Milton; and the words of the great Puritan poet reflect

[1] "Ten Hours Factory Bill" (Second Reading, May 10, 1844), 4.

[2] Closing words of "Education of Working Classes" (Feb. 28, 1843, H. C.).

the tenor of his political philosophy: "Who knows not," says Milton, "that truth is strong next to the Almighty? She needs no politics nor stratagems, the shifts and defences of error. . . . Give her but room and do not bind her when she sleeps." [1] These phrases express perfectly the cardinal article in our subject's political creed. Truth must ever be unfettered that the Spirit of God may work freely, and if the Spirit of God is permitted to work freely no slavery can abide.

However, Shaftesbury's doctrine of ethical and spiritual *freedom* was no *laissez-faire* theory playing into the hands of vested interests, or robbing the poor to fill the coffers of the rich. He realized that in highly organized industrial communities, where a few own the machines at which the many work, the latter are largely at the mercy of the former; and all talk, therefore, of free, untrammelled contracts, meant little other than freedom of the "*owning*" classes to dictate conditions of labour, thus denying liberty to the working multitude. Consequently, seeing the corrupt fruit which *laissez-faire*, popularly interpreted, was bringing forth, Shaftesbury set himself to analyse the nature and meaning of legislation; and in his political labours to free the disinherited, he continually taught that legislation was ordained for two primary purposes: "to restrain the vicious who will not be restrained by the laws of humanity and justice," [2] and to protect the dispossessed who might, without its aid, be bound in the chains of thraldom. Hence, after more than forty years' political struggle for a just treatment of the labouring population, Shaftesbury, addressing the Peers, could refer to legislative achievements, thus: "By *legislation* you have removed manifold and oppressive obstacles that stood in the way of the working man's comfort, progress and honour. By *legislation* you have ordained justice and exhibited sympathy with the best interests of the labourers, the surest and happiest mode of all government. By *legislation* you have given the working classes the full power to exercise, for themselves and for the public welfare, all the physical and moral energies that God hath bestowed on them; and by *legislation* you have given them the means to assert and maintain their rights." [3]

[1] Dr. H. Jones, *Modern Scientific and Philosophical Thought Regarding Human Society*.
[2] "Legislation of Labouring Classes" (Manchester, Oct. 26, 1844).
[3] Speech on Second Reading of Factories Bill, 1874.

From the above, it will be seen that, for Shaftesbury, law was no fetish to be feared because of its ability to wield mysterious power over the destiny of men. It was no monster that thrived on ignorance among the people over whom it held sway; rather was it the expression of corporate will, designed to mete out justice and mercy, with eminent fairness, to all members of society. There is little room then for surprise, that Shaftesbury attacked, with all the vehemence at his command, the benighted, but then all-too-powerful, dogma that "ignorance is the best guardian of tranquillity"—the strongest bulwark of government.

Speaking on "The Regulation of Children's Labour in Calico Print-Works," Shaftesbury dealt with this argument: "The time was when men believed, *or rather maintained*, that utter ignorance and excessive labour were the best guarantees for the tranquillity of the people."[1] "A sad delusion!" Then, maintaining that over-work and ignorance breed desire for vicious recreation and intoxicants, he continued: "Hundreds throng the beer-shops and pot-houses to listen to seductive compositions in prose and verse, in which vice and violence are dignified into heroism. . . . *But their guilt is our guilt*; we incur it by conniving at it. . . ."[2] Contending further, that the "march of the intellect" and the power of science should be dedicated to the service of man, and thus "converted into an influence of mighty benefit," he concluded by re-emphasizing the State's duty to provide protection against exploitation of defenceless workers: "Let the State but accomplish her frequent boast; let her show herself a faithful and pious parent; such efforts, be assured, will not be lost in the sight of God; and her children will speedily rise up and call her blessed."[3] This statement may savour of "parental legislation" and be ridiculed by certain reformers to-day; but all will agree it represented a marked advance over governmental inaction, while also it manifested an honest attempt to apply Christianity to industrial problems.

Whenever Shaftesbury saw laws protecting vested interests, or guarding amassed treasures, while, at the same time, mocking the aspirations and liberties of the poor, his whole soul rose in rebellion. Hence he revolted against the common practice of

[1] H. C., Feb. 18, 1845. [2] "Children in Calico Print-Works," 23.
[3] *Ibid.*

mill-owners sitting as magistrates to try offences of their own fraternity : pointing out that, on many such occasions, " justice " was an empty husk, a ghostly shadow, a *corpus mortuum*.[1] Indeed, so grotesque was the caricature of justice thus meted out to children, and so inadequate were the fines levied by interested judges against enslavers of infants that, in 1838, Shaftesbury asserted " no hesitation in affirming " that " a merciless, griping ruffian would gain more than five hundred times the amount of such a penalty during the hours he overworked these unfortunate children."[2] Moreover, further emphasizing the social inequalities resulting from this perversion of justice, Ashley reminded the Commons that Reports of the Government's own factory inspectors had been unheeded, that laws had been systematically violated " with advantage to the rich and tremendous consequences to the poor " ; while, meantime, Parliament, by its lethargy, was forcing the labouring population to hold " in equal contempt the makers of the law, the administrators of the law and the law itself."[3]

His desire to see the legal code an expression of justice to all, was written large over Shaftesbury's career ; therefore all subterfuge, striving to obscure moral issues in a haze of legal subtleties, met with his whole-hearted defiance. He attacked vehemently all legislative procedure which made

> Petty rogues submit to fate,
> That great ones may enjoy their state.[4]

Indeed, legal tricksters, along with their helpmate, Ignorance (which provides stage fittings for their death-dealing magic), Shaftesbury believed the worst foes of industrial progress.[5] Thus he strenuously opposed certain laws enabling magistrates to enforce contracts robbing children of their liberty ;[6] and in one speech, after exposing such abuses, he asserted : " These things perplex the peaceable and exasperate the discontented. They have the tendency to render capital odious, for wealth is known only by its oppressions " ; then, coming to closer grips, he explained : " Sir, with so much *ignorance* on the one side, and so much *oppression* on the other, I have never wondered

[1] " Children in Factories " (1838), 8. [2] *Ibid.*, 7. [3] *Ibid.*, 10.
[4] " Children not Protected by Factory Acts," 17.
[5] J. L. Hammond's *Town Labourer* gives a graphic picture of legislative perversions till 1832.
[6] " Children not Protected by Factory Acts," 21–2, 29, for copy of contracts.

that perilous errors and bitter hatreds have prevailed; but I have wondered much, and been very thankful, that they have prevailed so little." [1] Shaftesbury believed that the Spirit of Brotherhood, applied through organized social endeavour and humane legislation, could heal these bleeding sores; and in this simple faith he forged on.[2] He desired no laws which pompously compelled obedience because *they were laws*, but rather such as would win the allegiance of all fair-minded people, because they incorporated the spirit of justice and gave expression to noble ideals.

Numerous passages in Shaftesbury's speeches illustrate his conception of the purpose and meaning of law. The following will here suffice: "I speak not now of laws and regulations to abridge but to *enlarge* man's freedom; not to limit his rights, but to multiply his opportunities for enjoying them; laws and regulations which shall give him what all confess to be his due; which shall relieve him from the dangers of temptations he would willingly avoid, and under which he cannot but fall; and which shall place him, in many respects of health, happiness and possibilities of virtue, in that position of independence and security from which, under the present state of things, he is too often excluded." [3]

No article in Shaftesbury's political system was more axiomatic, however, than his emphasis on the *social* functions of legislation. Indeed, it would scarcely be exaggeration to say that Shaftesbury changed the legislative outlook among English-speaking peoples from *political* to *social*. He entered Parliament suspicious of party politics, and nearly sixty years' application to public duty [4] only developed that suspicion into marked distrust. His family tradition, his environment, his education, all tended to create a conservative point of view, but long before the conclusion of his career he expressed open repugnance of all party politics, as such. To him the only true statesmanship must look with single eye to the public good.[5]

[1] "Children not Protected by Factory Acts," 25.

[2] Speech before National Association for Promotion of Social Science (Liverpool), Oct. 12, 1858.

[3] "Education of Working Classes," H. C., Feb. 28, 1843: *Speeches*, 79.

[4] Shaftesbury entered Parliament, June 1826. He died Oct. 1885, having entered his sixtieth year of public life.

[5] Wilberforce showed similar devotion to principle, thus straining his friendship with Pitt and other close friends (R. Coupland, 189 ff.).

Hence, with this emphasis on social responsibility, it is not surprising that Shaftesbury's political career was inextricably associated with the welfare of women and children. He never lost sight of the fact that women, mothers of the race, are the guardians of morality; that children, care-free playmates of to-day, are citizens of to-morrow. Therefore time-serving expedients were abhorrent to him; he legislated for to-morrow more than to-day; his purpose was to cleanse the very springs of social life. He was, in an unique sense, the champion of Britain's women and children. Little then need we be surprised to find that, in scores of political speeches, Shaftesbury demanded recognition of the obligations which every society owes to these least-aggressive and most-defenceless, but all-important members of society. He pleaded their case before an indolent public and an unsympathetic Parliament; finally he rent asunder their industrial chains and set them free.

Dealing with the labour of women and children in mines and collieries, Ashley struck no uncertain chords. Basing his conclusions upon discoveries of the Government's Commission,[1] he marshalled a formidable array of evidence, exhibiting the consequences of miserable ventilation, bad drainage and inhuman hours of labour; while also he painted a graphic picture of the dungeon-like darkness of sewers through which, crawling "on all fours," women and children pulled tubs of coal. Stunted growth, juvenile decay, premature births, and excitement toward alcoholism, as well as immorality and wretchedness—these Shaftesbury proved to be products of mines and collieries as then conducted. Hence, after presenting his evidence, he exclaimed: "It is bad enough if you corrupt the men, but if you corrupt the women you poison the waters of life at the very fountain."[2]

To-day we are increasingly appreciative of the influence of environment over character; but Shaftesbury lived when science spoke mainly in the name of heredity, and when the theories of Malthus and Darwin tended to give fatalistic colour to social institutions.[3] The Earl, however, carried the day for organized reform by refusing to surrender his spiritual principles

[1] Shaftesbury himself moved for appointment of this Commission (1840).
[2] Hansard, H. C., June 7, 1842.
[3] Malthus's *Principle of Population*, appeared 1798; Darwin's *Origin of Species* 1859. Followers of these men were much more dogmatic and fatalistic than they themselves.

to the dictates of theorists, who, seated on an academic Olympus, claimed to give utterance to " scientific " revelations, and consequently to merit the obeisance of all thinking men. Therefore, while certain schools were talking loudly about " the excess of population over the food supply," or " survival of the fittest," and were drawing cruel conclusions from their theories, Shaftesbury held firmly to his faith in the divine personality of man, contending that no human being, least of all a woman or child, should be ground between the mill-stones of social oppression—even though polite society might call that oppression fate, and strive to justify it by " scientific " law.

It becomes obvious then that a primary purpose of Shaftesbury's political fight was the increase and improvement of education. This subject shall be treated later, but, in passing, it must be noted that Shaftesbury's political faith can never be understood without an appreciation of the social value he attached to education. To him " nothing is economical but justice and mercy to all " ;[1] without, however, an efficiently organized system of Christian education, he believed that society could never comprehend the true meaning of " justice and mercy to all." Hence in an unanswerable address on " Education of the Working Classes," he pointed to the " fearful multitude of untutored savages " whom society had neglected ;[2] he described certain schools as " more fitted to be sties or coal holes " ;[3] he pictured public-houses as the worst foes of children's liberty, the most deliberate propagators of stupidity : " from no other single cause alone does half so much demoralization and misery proceed as from the ale-house." [4] Then, reminding the Commons that they were spending many times more wealth on " punishment of crime " than on " infusion of virtue," [5] he inquired if such were a rational or hopeful policy of State : " You must draw from the great depository of truth all that can create and refine a sound public opinion, all that can institute and diffuse among the people the feelings and practices of morality." [6] Consequently, for him, the provision of sound ethical education was a fundamental duty of State ; but he well realized that *ethical education* must be accompanied and backed by *ethical legislation*. Therefore, meeting the opponents of education on their own ground, he asserted that " by a perverted

[1] " Health, Physical Condition, Moral Habits and Education of People," 9.
[2] Hansard, H. C., Feb. 28, 1843
[3] *Speeches*, 66.
[4] *Ibid.*, 73.
[5] *Ibid.*, 78–9.
[6] *Ibid.*, 83.

logic, moral teaching is declared to be useless, *because the system we allow has made moral practice next to impossible.*" [1]

Approaching the conclusion of this specially long speech, Shaftesbury strove to impress upon Parliament's conscience the necessity of providing better educational facilities for all the labouring population. His words are self-explanatory: "The early years are of incalculable value; an idle reprobate of fourteen is almost irreclaimable; every year of delay abstracts from us thousands of useful fellow-citizens; nay, rather, it adds them to the ranks of viciousness, of misery and disorder. So long as this plague spot is festering among our people, all our labours will be in vain; our recent triumphs will avail us nothing. . . . We feel that all is wrong, we grope at noonday as though it were night; disregarding the lessons of history and of the Word of God, that there is neither hope, nor strength, nor comfort, nor peace, but in a virtuous, a 'wise and an understanding people.'" [2]

Rarely did Shaftesbury's indignation rise higher than when he found it necessary to combat the arguments of "wise statesmen," who opposed the spread of elementary education. In his speech on "Literary Institutes for Working Men," delivered when opening the Swindon Institute, 1859, he threw down the gauntlet in defiance of the old superstition that popular ignorance is the surest guarantee of national tranquillity: "A few years ago there was a great repugnance to the education of the people. We found men in this country—men who passed for wise statesmen—who thought that nothing was more perilous to the public peace than the knowledge of reading and writing among the people." [3] Shaftesbury's reserved language here sharpens his ridicule. He strove to advance social progress by "enlightened public opinion"; and he knew that there could be no "enlightened public opinion" without general education.

Other aspects of Shaftesbury's career throw light on his political philosophy. An exponent of clean sport, and arch agitator for the Saturday half-holiday,[4] he nevertheless resisted every encroachment upon the religious and educational nature of the "specially appointed" Day of Rest. Addressing a body of workmen, he exclaimed: "Your *political* liberties are more

[1] *Speeches*, 81. [2] *Ibid.*, 85. [3] *Ibid.*, 312.

[4] See Liverpool speech, Oct. 12, 1858, where he pleads for parks, playgrounds, reduced hours of labour and Saturday half-holiday for *all* workers.

secure under the Charter of the Sabbath than they can be under all the charters which were ever given by any of our kings, including that of Runnymede itself. That Charter is greater than any other that God has ever given to man. It is as great as the sanctity of His own Book." [1] Again, his far-reaching observations regarding the social consequences of the liquor traffic, made him revolt against the almost universal custom among Parliamentary candidates of providing constituents with free beer at election time. Therefore, when in 1847, a year after his resignation from Parliament, he was unanimously offered the nomination for Bath, he consented to enter the contest only on condition that his supporters abstain from all swashbuckling methods, and provide "no barrels of beer for the voters." [2]

Though himself, for thirty-four years, a member of the House of Lords, the progressive character of Shaftesbury's political convictions is illustrated by his half-humorous references to that chamber as a "dormitory" or "statue gallery." [3] Again, the religious dominance of his political creed is suggested by the fact that during Palmerston's régime, that gentleman, whose theological knowledge was so limited that "he didn't know Moses from Sydney Smith," [4] left the appointment of Bishops to Shaftesbury; with the result that, in certain quarters, the Earl was dubbed "Bishop-Maker." [5] However, though this epithet was applied in ridicule, Shaftesbury used his power wisely; he saw to it that none of his bishops was likely to become a time-server, a political tool, or a mere bulwark of tradition. Not all "Shaftesbury's Bishops" were Evangelicals; but all were men of initiative and vision, ready to sink personal ambition in their labours for the Kingdom of God.[6]

Finally, a review of Shaftesbury's axiomatic principles would be inadequate without some mention of his aversion to militarism, and his humiliation that Christian nations accepted

[1] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 178; also *Talks with the People* on "Sabbath Observance," and Ashley's letter to Sir J. Hill (Rowland Hill), May 28, 1850, bringing before his notice essays by working men on the "Temporal Advantages of the Sabbath." The movement which Ashley at this time headed against Sunday labour in the Post Office was backed by petitions with "full 700,000 signatures," and Sunday posts were stopped (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 31978, f. 285).

[2] Pengelly, 70. [3] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 79. [4] Hodder, ii. 505.

[5] Samuel Wilberforce is responsible for this epithet.

[6] During Palmerston's administration twenty-five mitres and ten deaneries fell to his bestowal. In a letter to his son, Evelyn, Shaftesbury suggests Palmerston's ignorance of the religious "hopes and fears of the country": "They are as strange to him as the interior of Japan" (*Life*, ii. 503–6).

war as a court of appeal in international relationships. On a visit to Portsmouth, watching the practice of big guns, his lordship, amazed at their accuracy and power, observed: "If the nation would show one-half the zeal to defend itself from the devil that it does from the French, we would speedily become a wise and impregnable people." [1] Shaftesbury realized, as few statesmen ever have, that a nation's truest defence lies in the integrity of her citizens—not in her multiplicity of armaments. Therefore, in his 1866 address before the Social Science Congress, he emphasized his faith that "nationally and internationally men do not dwell securely and thrive by the misery and degradation, but by the welfare and honour of each other." [2] Then, having suggested reasons for international co-operation, rather than conflict, he exclaimed: "And yet I am aghast when I observe that, in all the exhibitions at home and abroad . . . rifles and cannons, swords and torpedoes, with the manifold munitions of war, occupy a broad space in the temples proposedly devoted to art and science." [3] In this same connection he quoted "an eminent engineer" who thought "the great bulk of the inventive and mechanical faculty is, for the moment, directed almost exclusively, to refine and perfect every instrument of destruction."

Shaftesbury's opposition to war, however, was something more courageous than merely an abstract repudiation of its place in Christian civilization. Indeed, his convictions regarding its futility were so pronounced that they enabled him, with one or two exceptions, to judge his own country by the same standards as a foreign nation; [4] they established his patriotism upon *principles*, not *prejudices*. On June 6, 1843, he wrote: "Grand battles by the Indian mail, grand victories, *and still grander injustice!* Wrong and robbery on a splendid and successful scale are sure to be hushed up, if not applauded. I shrink with a combined feeling of terror and nausea from our national sins. . . . Whither are we going? Oh, England! England!" [5]

[1] *Shaftesbury, the Children's Champion*, 83.

[2] *Public Health*, 1866 volume of Transactions of National Association for Promotion of Social Science, 11.

[3] *Ibid.*, or *Speeches*, 368.

[4] The "Arrow" incident, during Palmerston's administration, affords chief exception. But even concerning that event, Shaftesbury's conduct has often been misunderstood or misrepresented. See Ch. XX.

[5] *Life*, i. 494.

Again, the Earl's correspondence with Garibaldi throws light on this point. In a letter delivered to Garibaldi by Shaftesbury's son, he said: "How heartily do I thank Almighty God for your success. May He bless you and prosper you in all your great, noble and generous efforts for the freedom of Italy and the honour of mankind." But then came an exhortation to "consider very maturely" his announced "advance on Rome and Venetia." . . . "I am sure," said Shaftesbury, "that I speak the sentiment of all my countrymen. They hope for and foresee the consummation of all you desire; but they believe that all may be effected speedily and *without the effusion of blood*." The letter closes with an expression of Shaftesbury's "respect and admiration." [1]

But Shaftesbury dealt not only with the horrors of war, its colossal waste, its inability really to settle any problem; [2] he also struck a note for international friendship, particularly Anglo-American, which rings in harmony with the truest "post-war" thought: "Does the Atlantic cable teach us nothing? Has a merciful Providence established an intercourse between two nations of the same race, with kindred institutions, and common interests, only that we may hear of 'wars and rumours of wars,' . . . hurl defiance at each other, and pervert that which was intended for our peace into an occasion of falling? This mighty result of intellectual and moral power has begun its career with mutual words of congratulation, friendship, thankfulness and joy. May no other spirit ever pass along its wires; and may 'it lead the rest of its life according to the beginning.'" [3]

Shaftesbury's political axioms, in brief, were simple, rigid, perhaps narrow; but transparently honest and humane. For him statesmanship could hold no counsel with cunning, duplicity or deceit: he loathed every semblance of Machiavellian subtlety. Like Lincoln, he was convinced his political career was "a call from God"; and further, he believed all true statesmanship a vocation, in the completest sense. Therefore, in the strength of this persuasion, he was lifted above all temptations of opportunism or self-glory, and was endowed

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 37772, f. 86.

[2] See L. Dickinson, *The Choice Before Us*, regarding war diplomacy and international problems.

[3] *Speeches*, 369.

with an explicit faith in righteousness.[1] Shaftesbury's public endeavour, in truth, was directed by the belief that he lived in an ethical universe. Consequently he manifested a remarkable independence of party dictation, and, to a greater degree, perhaps, than any compatriot legislated for the future. But this ethical outlook, with its concern for generations unborn, had yet another effect on Shaftesbury's politics; it equipped him with an audacity enabling him fearlessly to persevere, even when ridiculed or alone. Therefore, it is safe to predict that when more brilliant statesmen have been long forgotten, Shaftesbury's example will shine across the centuries as Britain's greatest inspiration toward social legislation: as the embodiment of political integrity.

[1] Shaftesbury's political axioms have much in common with principles laid down in Major Cartright's *Take Your Choice* (1776). In this treatise, anticipating the People's Charter (1838), Cartright says: "The principles of politics are the principles of reason, morality and religion. . . . Scripture is the ultimate criterion both in public and private conduct. . . . All that a statesman needs is a knowledge of the plain maxims of the law of nature, and the clearest doctrines of Christianity."

CHAPTER V

SHAFTESBURY'S PLACE IN THE THOUGHT OF HIS DAY

IT would be a mistake to picture Shaftesbury as a philosopher, or even as one who strove consciously to systematize his own thought. He made no pretensions in this direction. Indeed, he was too busy to find leisure for such employment. Nevertheless, as his endeavours have influenced the progress of the world, it may not be amiss to pause and inquire briefly regarding his relation to the mind of his century.

Though a first cousin of Dr. Pusey,[1] Shaftesbury had a deeply rooted aversion to the Oxford Movement. True, his rigid Protestantism may have blinded him to better aspects of the Tractarian Crusade; but it, nevertheless, would be a libel on a profoundly conscientious man to suggest that this opposition was developed chiefly through prejudice or ignorance.[2] Much as he disliked the Tractarian tendency to ridicule the Reformation and to lead the Anglican Communion into submission to the Roman Church,[3] the primary cause of his opposition lay in his conviction that this movement transferred religious emphasis from the ethical to the hierarchical, substituting a ritualistic for a social conception of conduct.

Considerable correspondence, over the Oxford Movement, passed between Pusey and Shaftesbury;[4] and on one occasion, at least, the Anglo-Catholic, assuming that all who studied the tenets of the Oxford Movement must necessarily agree with them, questioned the Earl's ability to pass reasonable judgment. Shaftesbury's answer, however, reveals the fact that the reverend

[1] See Shaftesbury's letter to Pusey, Feb. 26, 1864 (Hodder, iii. 166); also Diary, Sept. 22, 1882, relating to Pusey's death (iii. 448).

[2] His correspondence on this subject shows that he was well versed in Tractarian literature (*Life*, i. 396–7).

[3] *Life*, ii. 92 ff.

[4] Shaftesbury and Pusey were college class-mates; both graduated in 1822, with first-class honours in Classics.

Doctor had made an unwarrantable assumption; it shows the Earl was familiar with the works of Newman, Keble, Froude and Ward, as well as with those of the divine in question. Yet in spite of this knowledge, or probably because of it, he humbly claimed the right to disagree.[1] The following quotation, containing perhaps the strongest language Shaftesbury ever used toward Pusey, illustrates well his attitude toward the Oxford Movement; while, also, it shows that the conflict centred around the difference between Protestantism and Romanism: "Every one, however deep his piety, however holy his belief, however prostrate his heart in faith and fear before God and his Saviour, however simple and perfect his reliance on the merits of his Redeemer, is consigned by you, if he be not episcopally ordained, to the outer darkness of the children of the Devil, while, in the same breath, you designate the Church of Rome as the sweet spouse of Christ, and hide all her abominable idolatries under the mantle of her Bishops."[2]

To Shaftesbury, the essence of Protestantism was religious experience, directed by the Holy Spirit; and he feared the denial of Protestantism and the approach toward Rome, because he believed the latter system stood for reaction—for the suppression of spontaneity and the deification of an hierarchical institution. The substance of the Earl's belief was: On, with Christ, for the establishment of God's Kingdom, in righteousness, on earth; not back with the hierarchy, through a glorified Mediævalism, to the Golden Age of the Fathers. He insisted on a *forward*, not *backward* look; and although he never minimized the value of creeds, forms, symbols and ceremonies, if vehicles of living truth,[3] he ever emphasized the conviction that the primary purpose of Christian institutions is to lead men into communion with the Divine Power, enabling them "to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God." Men's own souls were saved, Shaftesbury believed, that they might, under God, save society.

This pragmatic emphasis on Catholicity of Spirit, through righteous endeavour, rather than Catholicity of Institution, through sacerdotalism, is a marked feature in Shaftesbury's controversies with Pusey: "The unity of the spirit in the bond

[1] Ashley's letter to Pusey, Jan. 18, 1842.
[2] Hodder, i. 396.
[3] Shaftesbury's quarrel with Salvation Army was on this score. See Chapter XXII.

of peace is the main element of blessing in these latter days; let us endeavour, by God's grace, to have a foretaste of that happy time; but certain I am that it is attainable only by a *heart* that is truly Catholic, by the imbibing and exercise of an immense philanthropy." [1]

With Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, as with Pusey, Shaftesbury was thrown into frequent and heated controversy; but it is refreshing to note that long before the death of these gentlemen the controversy had died down. As fellow Christians, they charitably agreed to disagree on doctrinal points, and worked together for what they held in common.[2] In Shaftesbury's Diary we find kindly and generous references to the death of both Pusey and Wilberforce.[3] At first the struggle had been intense, and feeling had risen high. But the storm was followed by a deep calm; and in that calm the opponents learned to think less of their differences and more of their agreements, with the result that peace and good will began to reign.

If, as has been asserted, England's conservative reaction against the French Revolution prepared the way for the Mediæval outlook of the Oxford Movement,[4] it is at least equally true that the "Oxford" dogmas, in turn, stimulated the rationalistic tendencies which began to assert themselves about 1860.[5] The Oxford Movement was the "friend of Patristic and the foe of modern learning"; [6] it exempted hierarchical institutions from historical criticism, while, at the same time, it scathingly applied that weapon against all other religious bodies; [7] it blew the trumpets of reaction and called upon "the Faithful" to enter "the ark of shelter" against the coming deluge of unbelief; [8] it started not with the historic Christ, but with what it believed the perfect body of Christ—the Patristic and Mediæval Church. The result of this attitude was inevitable; such an ultimatum, issued from the councils of

[1] *Life*, i. 396.

[2] For a liberal, but not unsympathetic, treatment of Oxford Movement see V. Storr, *Development of English Theology in Nineteenth Century*. Much space is devoted to this subject, and the argument is keen.

[3] *Life*, iii. 448 and 338.

[4] V. Storr, *Development of English Theology in Nineteenth Century*, 155, and P. A. Brown, *French Revolution in English History* (1918). French citizenship, for instance, was conferred upon Wilberforce, but instead of helping Emancipation, this step did not a little to check it; for Wilberforce was forthwith accused of being a *Jacobin*.

[5] Darwin's *Origin of Species* appeared in 1859; *Essays and Reviews* 1860.

[6] Storr, *op. cit.*, 271. [7] *Ibid.*, 300. [8] *Ibid.*, 255.

what claimed to be the only true Church, was certain to unite in opposition both the champions of secular progress and the apostles of scientific research. But the " High Church " movement was responsible for something still more lamentable ; by its aggressive dogmatism and exclusive assumptions, it crippled the faith of many who wanted a spiritual, yet rational, creed. It shut the door to inquiry and, by so doing, encouraged doubt to steal in at the window. It created the atmosphere which stimulated Mark Pattison, an early follower of the Tractarians, in mature development, to speak of " a godless orthodoxy and an unmeaning frost-work of dogma." [1]

But although Shaftesbury had strenuously attacked the Oxford Movement, and although he believed the doctrines of that movement had augmented, if not actually inspired, the most negative forces of rationalism, nevertheless, when the fight became hot, he joined forces with his late opponents to defend the citadel of his beliefs. For just as the Tractarian leaders had recently anathematized all Christians outside the sacerdotal system, " established by Apostolic Succession," [2] so now, in turn, the more venturesome spirits in the radical camp began to challenge the beliefs of all organized Christianity, including sacerdotal systems, for which, indeed, they reserved their bitterest satire, and at which they pointed their most poisoned arrows. If, as Mr. Storr asserts, Strauss,[3] J. S. Mill, and Darwin were the real leaders of English thought as the Oxford Movement collapsed,[4] it was only natural that Shaftesbury and his late opponents should find common cause in striving to check the onslaughts of secular rationalism ; for Shaftesbury had not a whit more sympathy with rationalistic attacks upon the spiritual authority of Christianity than with the Oxford Movement's attack upon Protestantism.

How pronounced was rationalistic revolt against all religious authority, and how inviting was its appeal to brilliant minds, may be surmised from the case of George Eliot, who, following

[1] Pattison's *Essays* show he had a keen appreciation of the religious thought of his day.

[2] Dean Inge, in a suggestive article, claims that the Anglo-Catholic Movement divides Christendom into two camps : " those whom we unchurch " (all non-episcopal Protestants) " and those who unchurch us " (Roman Catholics).

[3] In Strauss's *Leben Jesu* (1835), translated by George Eliot (1846), " he sought to prove the Gospels a collection of myths " with a " nucleus of historic truth free from every trace of super-naturalism."

[4] *Op. cit.*, 488.

the religious controversies of the day, turned from faith, through rationalism, to scepticism. But probably the most striking illustration of the spreading influence of rationalism was expressed by the publication of *Essays and Reviews*, in 1860.[1] With one exception, the authors of these theological essays were beneficed Anglican clergymen ; yet, although they revealed a lively sense of the value of historical criticism, they were, on the whole, negative rather than positive. Nevertheless, they illustrated how complete was the revolt of many leading minds, even within the Church, against the assumptions of the Oxford Movement ; for whereas the Tractarians had deified sacerdotal authority, the rationalistic tendency was to question, if not denounce, any religious authority.[2] Hence, it was natural that Shaftesbury, whose faith was his guiding star, should oppose a movement which, too frequently, tended to squander creative capacities on negative ends. Shaftesbury, like Wesley, was a pragmatist before the term was coined, but he was convinced that without a great faith, to inspire men's spirits and illumine their paths, a great work is impossible of achievement. It was the existence of such faith, however, which he believed the rationalistic tendency was undermining.[3]

Turning to radical thinkers who influenced social developments in Shaftesbury's day, we find that the Earl shows points both of agreement and disagreement with radical schools. For instance, if we roughly group together such thinkers as Paine and Cobbett, Rousseau and Voltaire, we find, on comparing their teaching with Shaftesbury's principles, that an unmistakable thread of agreement unites these seeming opposites. In common with philosophers of the French Revolution, as well as Deistic and Secular radicals of England, Shaftesbury believed that " Christian " society was diseased by fundamental injustices. He, with them, declared radical changes long overdue, and asserted that drastic remedies must be applied if social ills were to be cured. But, agreeing regarding the malady,

[1] Bishop Wilberforce, frankly admitting that he never read *Essays and Reviews*, induced the Episcopal Bench, collectively, to censure them (Storr, *op. cit.*, 499).

[2] Schleiermacher had greatest influence in moderating the effects of Rationalism.

[3] Shaftesbury called the rationalistic approach toward theology " Neology," and, in popular attacks upon it, he sometimes lost all sense of proportion. Addressing a public meeting, in 1866, he called Seeley's *Ecce Homo* the " most pestilential book ever vomited from the jaws of Hell " (*Life*, iii. 164).

they were poles apart both in their diagnosis of the cause and their prescription of treatment. The radical thinkers of the eighteenth century, and their lineal descendants in the nineteenth, frequently attacked Christianity as itself the corrupting disease; consequently they proceeded to write its epitaph, and lay it to rest. To their grief, however, they discovered the writing of Christianity's epitaph a much simpler problem than its burial; for though the funeral rites were performed with great decorum by all the high priests of secular radicalism, nevertheless the subject of their solemnities stubbornly refused to play its silent rôle, and very discourteously, and greatly to the embarrassment of the masters of ceremony, soon proved itself much alive.[1]

Shaftesbury, on the other hand, believed the remedy for social maladies was to be found in the Living Spirit of Christ. He admitted, with the earlier radicals, that much which passed for Christianity was traditional and retrogressive, not challenging and progressive; but this phenomenon, he claimed, represented the diseased body of Christianity and had no relation to its soul. Shaftesbury looked out on the society of his day and saw miserable slums, with their attendant curses of poverty and hopelessness, of drunkenness and crime. He saw the pampered luxury of a large section of the rich and the pitiable under-nourishment of multitudes of the poor; he saw many able-bodied adults gluttonous, idle and indolent, while, simultaneously, thousands of pale-faced children were drudging in factories or mines, twelve to fourteen hours a day; he saw his country spending *millions* for armaments, as against *thousands* for education; homes bereft of a mother's care through demands for cheap labour, and ale-houses plying their business of death under legal protection. He witnessed a rank upgrowth of ignorance choking the tender shoots of social progress; miserable, grimy dens passing as "*homes*" for infants; children neglected as though they had no claim to the nation's care, and "wealth erected into a deity."

Yes, Shaftesbury saw all these, and other maladies, with as clear vision, and deeper sympathy, than any secular radical, but he would not bury Christianity to put things right. To him these running sores represented the denial of Christianity. He accepted no fatalistic theories that such conditions were

[1] Cf. anti-religious orgies of the French Revolution, and their effect.

inevitable companions of progress ;[1] he loathed the idea of a reservoir of surplus labour kept docile through stupidity and drunkenness ; he would hear of no justification for permitting such disease to attack the social body. It was his conviction that these nauseating conditions were symptoms of an enervated society ; and he believed that *practical* Christianity could alone prescribe a cure.

Some radicals knew " no better way of making room for man than by excluding God."[2] Shaftesbury, contrariwise, believed with St. Paul that men must be " co-labourers together with God " before righteousness can reign. Rousseau taught that " Christians are made to be slaves," but his egotism probably kept him from forming the acquaintance of the Dutch Beggars, the Pilgrim Fathers or Cromwell's Ironsides.[3] Shaftesbury's life is demonstration of the fact that in a " really Christian society " there could be no slaves. To him the heritage of all true Christians should be that of free men who look up to God for guidance, hopeful, and undismayed. Indeed, so radical was Shaftesbury's sense of Christian freedom, that in one speech, after referring to city slums as " dens of despair " where " dirt, darkness, disrepair " and other gruesome devils " hold despotic sway," he actually prayed for another " vast fire of London " to sweep these curses away, and to awaken a sluggish society to the responsibilities of citizenship.[4]

As for Shaftesbury's relation to the Chartist Movement, he thoroughly sympathized with the discontent behind all the mob agitation. " We cover the land with spectacles of misery," he exclaimed, in 1840, " and wealth is only known by its oppressions. . . . No wonder that thousands of hearts should be against a system which establishes the relations without calling forth the mutual sympathies of master and servant, landlord and tenant, employer and employed. . . . Sickness has no claim on the capitalist ; a day's absence, however necessary, is a day's loss to the workman ; nor are the numerous and frightful

[1] Henry George, too, revolted against this crass interpretation of Malthus's theory. After completing *Progress and Poverty*, George said : " I flung myself upon my knees and wept like a child. The rest was in the Master's hands. That is a feeling that has never left me : that is constantly with me, and it has led me up and up. It has made me a better and a purer man " (*Foundations of Freedom*, 6).

[2] Dr. Jones's *Modern Scientific and Philosophical Thought Regarding Human Society* (*Christ and Civilization*, 509).

[3] In his *later* writings Rousseau is less antagonistic toward Christianity.

[4] 1859 *Trans. of Nat. Assoc. for Prom. of Soc. Sc.*, " Public Health," 9.

mutilations by neglected machinery (terminating as they do in the utter ruin of the sufferer), regarded as conferring either in principle or practice, the smallest pretence to lasting compensation or even temporary relief." [1] Shaftesbury proved that Chartist agitation was most pronounced among pitmen in regions whose "die-hard" representatives in Parliament succeeded in mutilating his Colliery Bill." [2] Moreover, he asserted that the nation was "as much indebted to Sir Robert Peel," the Prime Minister, for social disturbances, "as to Feargus O'Connor," the Chartist agitator: "Peel's refusals create an appetite for O'Connor's offers." [3]

But while Ashley sympathized with, and even encouraged, social discontent with prevailing conditions, his remedy was far different from that of most Chartists. They agitated for a political Charter which they imagined would, in itself, solve all their ills; he agitated for the spread of education, and of spiritual principles, without whose support legal enactments are an empty husk. Therefore, although Shaftesbury frequently associated "Democracy" with illiterate and clamorous mob rule, and though, on occasions, he declared certain aspects of Chartism to be running riot,[4] it would, none the less, be an error to suggest that he, in any way, opposed the social emancipation of the masses. On the contrary, it is doubtful if any other man of his century accomplished so much for the labouring population. But, as a Christian statesman, he always kept his "eye on the future" and never his "ear to the ground"; he dedicated his career to the exaltation of ethical principles in public life, spurning all counsel from that vain brood of politicians who hold to no principle, save expediency, and render no worship save to the blood-stained idols of popularity or party-interest. He therefore opposed the Chartist agitation to clothe "the masses" with political authority, before they were educated to use power; [5] but he did more than all the Chartists to inculcate into the labouring population the education, the self-respect, the appreciation of spiritual values, the sobriety and the social solidarity, without which democratic enfranchisement is so apt

[1] Hodder, i. 323. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 433. See Chapter XVIII. [3] *Ibid.*, 433.

[4] Speaking on this subject, Shaftesbury says: "Those vast multitudes, ignorant and excitable in themselves, and rendered still more so *by oppression and neglect*, are surrendered almost without a struggle to the experimental philosophy of infidels and democrats" (*Life*, i. 323).

[5] See Julius West's *History of Chartist Movement*; Mark Hovell, *The Chartist Movement: Studies in Economics and Public Law* (Columbia University, 1916), vol. lxxiii, containing three theses on Chartism.

to become a suicidal sword in the hands of the multitude, or a " happy hunting ground " for demagogues.

Shaftesbury's attitude, in this connection, is illustrated by his own words : " Let your laws, we say to Parliament, assume the proper functions of law, protect those for whom neither wealth, nor station nor age have raised a bulwark against tyranny ; but above all, open your treasury, erect churches, send forth the ministers of religion, reverse the conduct of the enemy of mankind, and sow wheat among the tares ; all hopes are groundless, all legislation weak, *all conservatism nonsense*, without this alpha and omega of policy. . . ." [1]

Coming now to the Christian Socialist Movement,[2] following in the train of Chartism, it unfortunately must be noted that misunderstanding, and differences in doctrine, prevented co-operation between Maurice, Ludlow and Kingsley, the leaders of Christian Socialism, and Shaftesbury. This misunderstanding, moreover, was most lamentable, for the Christian Socialists and the " Emancipator of Industrial England " [3] were, in reality, spiritual kinsmen. Both received their inspiration from Christian sources, and both were aflame with a passion to apply the dynamic of Christianity to social problems. Failure to co-operate lay in the fact that Shaftesbury was an Evangelical, while the leaders of Christian Socialism, roughly speaking, were Broad Churchmen.[4] Evangelicals, however, as a body, were so animated with zeal for Christian activity that they found little time to keep abreast with philosophical leadership ; consequently they tended to look suspiciously upon every theological movement that in any way modified their orthodox, and somewhat scholastic, conceptions of Atonement and Salvation by Faith.[5]

[1] Hodder, i. 323–4.

[2] E. C. Raven, *History of Christian Socialism*, for suggestive treatment of this movement.

[3] This title is applied to Shaftesbury by Dorothy Williams in a pamphlet of 61 pages (1925). Into Miss Williams's charming essay several errors have crept. Dealing with " relay " labour, she confuses the hours of children with those of young persons and women (p. 40) ; regarding Ten Hours' " compromise," 1850, she obviously follows the verdict of J. L. Hammond without examination of documentary evidence ; while again, she refers to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as relating to " South America " instead of Southern U.S.A. (p. 49). Nevertheless, this pamphlet gets close to the inspiration of Shaftesbury's life.

[4] Maurice disowned the name " Broad Churchman," but, none the less, it stuck. On the other hand, Dean Stanley contends that Wesley was the real founder of the Broad Church (*Chambers's Biog. Dict.*, " John Wesley ").

[5] Evangelicals, in middle nineteenth century, were more scholastic than Wesley. Calvinistic influence was partly responsible for this legalizing tendency.

Maurice, on the other hand, the real spokesman of Christian Socialism, was rather too dogmatic in asserting his own theological convictions; and besides, he was somewhat patronizing toward Evangelicals, who certainly were less versed than he in metaphysical subjects. In spite of the misfortune, however, that no organized co-operation was attained, it is undeniable that Shaftesbury and Christian Socialists were travelling on almost parallel roads towards the same goal. Maurice's College for Working Men and Queen's College for Women were in perfect harmony with Shaftesbury's endeavours.[1]

Again, Shaftesbury's relation to Utilitarianism can acarcely be overlooked. The catch phrase of this school—"The Greatest Happiness to the Greatest Number"—was coined by Dr. Priestley, the famous Unitarian divine;[2] but Bentham's writings were the vehicle of its popularity. Humanitarian, however, as the slogan sounded, magic words could not instil into Utilitarianism a heart of love, for, as Professor Graham Wallas says: "Bentham and James Mill, though they broke with the French Revolutionary thinkers and the whole doctrine of Natural Rights, nevertheless retained many of the characteristic habits of eighteenth-century thought. They believed themselves to have found a common-sense philosophy, by which ordinary, selfish men could be convinced that the interests of each invariably coincided with the interests, if not of all, at any rate, of the majority."[3] This attitude was perilously close to the bankrupt individualism of *laissez-faire*; and Shaftesbury's whole life was a fight against self-interest masquerading behind the crasser interpretations of that doctrine.

True, J. S. Mill, after his "mental crisis" (1826–7), partly lifted Utilitarianism from its prostituted condition as a smoke screen for self-interest,[4] to altruistic ground. Indeed, by 1830 a marked advance was recorded. Mill then wrote: "I never wavered in the conviction that happiness is the test of all rules of conduct and the end of life. But I now thought this end was only to be attained by not making it the direct end. Those only are happy who have their minds fixed on some object other than their own happiness—on the happiness of others, on the

[1] E. C. Raven, *op. cit.*, regarding the lives of Maurice, Ludlow and Kingsley; also *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* and Mrs. Kingsley's *Life of Charles Kingsley*.

[2] *Chambers's Biog. Dict.*, "Jeremy Bentham."

[3] *Life of Francis Place*, 89.

[4] *The Great Society*, G. Wallas, chapter vii.

improvement of mankind, even on some art or pursuit, followed not as a means, but as itself an ideal end. Aiming thus at something else, they find happiness by the way." [1] With this altruistic interpretation Shaftesbury had no small sympathy, for the joy of his life consisted in unstinted exertions for others. The striking difference, however, between Shaftesbury's attitude and that of Utilitarianism's master mind, was that while Mill thought he was giving expression to a philosophical discovery, the practical reformer found all Mill's discovery, and more, in the precepts of Him who lived and taught the doctrine: "Whosoever shall save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for the Kingdom of God shall find it." [2]

With the educational endeavours of Utilitarians, Shaftesbury had much in common, for he was an unwearied apostle of social enlightenment. One difference, nevertheless, was fundamental. Francis Place, leader of Utilitarianism's educational activities, was an avowed atheist and, consequently, discouraged all religious teaching in schools over which he exercised authority. Yet the Royal Lancastrian Association, and its successor, the British and Foreign School Society, without which Place's educational endeavours would have been negligible, were founded, and largely supported, by Quakers and Nonconformist ministers, who drew their inspiration from Evangelical religion.[3] Thus Place used money provided by zealously religious people to militate against religion in education. But we have observed sufficient of Shaftesbury's beliefs to see that he had no sympathy with any efforts to divorce education from religious stimulus; he believed that religion alone could inculcate ethical values and interpret social responsibilities.[4]

Place's greatest achievement, however, the repeal of the abominable Combination Laws (1824–5), is worthy of being placed alongside the labours of Shaftesbury. To this signal victory, won "almost single handed," Gladstone paid high tribute: "The labour question may be said to have come into public view simultaneously with the repeal of the Combination

[1] J. S. Mill, *Autobiography*, 142.

[2] Shaftesbury's rule of life had considerable in common both with Kant's law of Duty and Mill's revised version of Happiness. But whereas Kant's interpretation of Duty was cold and rationalistic, and Mill's standard of Happiness somewhat artificial, Shaftesbury's "social conduct" was spontaneous and grew directly from experience and faith.

[3] Graham Wallas, *Life of Place*, 105.

[4] Shaftesbury's speech at meeting of National Educational Union, Mar. 1, 1872.

Laws, which made it an offence for labouring men to unite for the purpose of procuring by joint action, through peaceful means, an augmentation of their wages." [1]

A few words may not be out of place regarding Shaftesbury's relation to certain "free lances," who exercised no inconsiderable influence over their century.

The labours, for instance, of Dickens, Macaulay and John Richard Green bear unmistakable affinities with those of Shaftesbury. Dickens and Shaftesbury enjoyed a personal friendship, and there can be no doubt but that Shaftesbury's social revelations gave moral prestige, and a sense of reality, to the seemingly incredible conditions pictured in Dickens's novels; while, on the other hand, Dickens's genius certainly helped clear the atmosphere for a more sympathetic consideration of facts which Shaftesbury's crusade arraigned before the bar of conscience. Indeed, each gentleman acknowledged his debt to the other. A quotation from a Dickens letter to Mr. Fitzgerald, asking confidentially for introductions, through Ashley, helping him to carry out certain social investigations, throws light on Dickens's debt to Shaftesbury, and probably marks the beginning of their friendship.

"*With that nobleman's most benevolent and excellent exertions*," runs part of Dickens's letter, "*and with the evidence which he was the means of bringing forward, I am well acquainted.* So far as seeing goes, I have seen enough for my purpose, and what I have seen has disgusted and astonished me beyond all measure. I mean to strike the heaviest blow in my power for these unfortunate creatures, but whether I shall do so in the *Nickleby* or wait some other opportunity, I have not yet determined." [2]

Lord Macaulay, even more directly than Dickens, had kindred sympathies that bound him to Shaftesbury. His father, Zachary, a leading figure in the Clapham Sect,[3] was a champion of Emancipation, an apostle of philanthropy, and an enthusiastic supporter of all manner of Evangelical activity.[4] Indeed, so great was Zachary Macaulay's enthusiasm for benevolent endeavour that his generosity impoverished the family

[1] Gladstone, "The English Labourer," *Weekly Star*, Feb. 6, 1892.

[2] A prior section of this letter (Dec. 29, 1838) shows that Dickens was then preparing to publish *Oliver Twist* (*Life*, i. 227).

[3] For suggestive review of social activities of Clapham Sect see *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, by Sir James Stephen, father of Leslie Stephen.

[4] A tablet in Westminster Abbey commemorates Zachary Macaulay's services to mankind.

fortune; and his eminent son was compelled to accept remunerative office (legal adviser to Supreme Council of India) in order to replenish their coffers.[1] Consequently, Lord Macaulay, having been raised under the influence of just such religious convictions as inspired Shaftesbury, it was natural that the reformer should look to this literary idol for support; and how effectively, when once converted, Macaulay responded, and how eloquently he supported Ashley's Ten Hours Bill, were thankfully acknowledged on several occasions.[2]

The Earl's Diary makes significant reference to Macaulay's death: "May I never forget his true and noble speech, made at my request, in the House of Commons on behalf of the factory children! Their prayer, I trust, ascended for him to the throne of God." In this same entry, January 3, 1860, Shaftesbury recorded his estimate of Macaulay's life: "His sentiments and expressions were always generous, his feelings, noble; he hated duplicity, meanness, violence; he never thought that brilliant exploits compensated for the want of moral worth; and he would call a man a villain, a rogue or an oppressor whether he were arrayed like Solomon, or in tatters like Lazarus." [3]

In the case of John Richard Green, there is no evidence of personal acquaintance with the philanthropic Earl.[4] Yet, just as Shaftesbury's revelations created an atmosphere for Dickens's reforming novels, and partially stimulated in their author's mind the personal interest which gave them birth, so it may be suggested that Green's *Short History of the English People*, the first *social* history of Britain (1874), was not unrelated to the vast skein of reforming activities, of which Shaftesbury was the centre. Indeed, the date of this earliest history to leave the well-worn, but comparatively barren, paths of war and nationalism, of politics and diplomacy, and to explore the vast tracts of social endeavour, where the seeds of History are sown, is, in itself, extremely suggestive. In the third, fourth, fifth and sixth decades of his century, Shaftesbury was frequently considered "a monomaniac." [5] But, by the time Green was

[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

[2] Macaulay at first opposed legislative intervention in industry; but he was converted by Shaftesbury's revelation of facts.

[3] Hodder, iii. 73.

[4] The writer is informed by Green's widow that the historian, Shaftesbury's junior by a generation, was not personally acquainted with the Earl.

[5] Speech on Second Reading of Ten Hours Bill, May 10, 1844.

writing his *History*, the cause he was leading had won the day. The social conscience had at last been awakened; and in the seventh decade popular demand compelled the publication of Shaftesbury's best-known speeches. It was scarcely an accident, therefore, that in the eighth decade our first social history saw the light: and that treatise was more concerned with the aspirations and achievements of the general populace than with warriors' spoils or politicians' quibbles.

Again, Shaftesbury's kinship with Ruskin and Carlyle cannot be ignored. Professor T. C. Hall says: "One has only to glance at the pages of Ruskin and Carlyle, to say nothing of Charles Kingsley and Maurice, to see where they drew their deeper inspirations, and whose spiritual children they really were. The very phrases of the Evangelical leaders were continually on their lips, and the deep and religious spirit pervading their social hope and philanthropic dream was born of the great Second Reformation which began with Wesley." [1] Much evidence substantiates Professor Hall's conclusion; [2] in passing, it may be noted that Dr. Arnold, of Rugby fame, drew his inspiration from this same succession.

Early in Shaftesbury's career, Arnold exclaimed: "I would give anything to be able to organize a Society for drawing public attention to the state of the labouring classes throughout the kingdom. Men do not think of the fearful state in which they are living. If they could once be brought to notice and to appreciate the evil, I should not even yet despair that the remedy may be found and applied; even though it is the solution of the most difficult problem ever yet proposed to man's wisdom, and the greatest triumph over selfishness yet required of his virtue. A Society might give the alarm, and present the facts to the notice of the public. It was thus that Clarkson overthrew the slave trade; and it is thus I hope that the system of transportation shall receive its death-blow." [3]

When Arnold uttered these words, Ashley was engaged on this task; and to such endeavours he devoted his career. But it was the support of men whose lives were aflame with enthusiasm, of men who, like himself, had ascended the heights of transfiguration and surveyed their fellows' needs through

[1] *The Evangelical Movement and Philanthropy* (*Christ and Civilization*, 403).
[2] Wesley's Journal and Sermons leave no doubt as to the deduction Dr. Hall draws.
[3] Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, quoted in Hodder, i. 324.

the spiritual eye, that added power to his arm, and finally crowned his labours with victory.

Later we shall follow the Earl's labours in detail, that the reader may estimate his influence on his century. Here it is necessary to mention two principles, carrying his thought to the deepest currents of moral progress. The first concerned the social value of, and national responsibility toward, all women, young persons and children. The second, closely related to it, concerned the necessity for, and purpose of, ethical education.

Regarding the first: Shaftesbury's emphasis on the welfare of women, young persons and children, struck a new note in English legislation; and that note he planted in the national conscience. Through sheer devotion to principles, he compelled his countrymen to realize that children and young persons —future citizens—and women, moulders of men's destiny, are a nation's greatest hope; and as such should have first claim to its protection. Then, having inculcated into the popular mind this conviction, he, more than any other man, provided machinery for its expression. It was in a reference to the child's inherent rights and national value, that Shaftesbury, pressing for legislation, inquired: "Is orphanage a crime?" and, in white heat, demanded: "Undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free!" [1]

The second principle was, to his lordship, as important as the first. He was convinced that education, like freedom, should be the heritage of every child in fact he believed that any youngster denied that privilege was cheated of its birthright. Nevertheless, he was emphatic in his assertion that education is no mere cramming of facts, or conning of rules; nor is it even the process of accumulating knowledge. For him, education is that process of development whereby the whole personality is trained to express itself for the common good. He himself started not a few institutions which taught both reading and craftsmanship to outcast children; and he gloried in the skill they imparted; but he never looked upon reading or craftsmanship as, in themselves, educational *ends*. To "The Children's Champion" character-building was the primary purpose of education, and was infinitely more important than fortune-building. Shaftesbury himself makes this point clear. Though a Harrow boy himself, he sent his son Anthony

[1] "Children in Mines and Collieries," 49.

to Rugby. His reason may be surmised from the following note: [1] "We must have nobler, deeper, sterner stuff; less of refinement and more of truth; more of the inward and not so much of the outward gentleman; a rigid sense of duty, not a delicate sense of honour; a just estimate of rank and property, not as matters of personal enjoyment and display, but as gifts from God, . . . a contempt for ridicule, not a dread of it." [2]

This eminently spiritual, yet practical, conception of education contrasts strangely with the stilted processes, which, according to Mr. J. A. Hobson, were at that period passing for education at Oxford: "The detection of grammatical subtleties, and the dissection of historical and philosophical corpses, was then called scholarship at Oxford." [3]

[1] Arnold's work at Rugby undoubtedly had made its influence felt in this decision.

[2] Lucy Taylor, *Children's Champion*, 112. This is a good picture of Shaftesbury himself.

[3] *John Ruskin, Social Reformer*, 15.

CHAPTER VI

A LIFE SACRIFICE FOR THE DISINHERITED

THERE have been men, in this old world's history, whose lives were so sublime, that even a study of their endeavours acts both as a moral bath and a spiritual tonic. Such a life was Shaftesbury's.

From his first speech in Parliament until his death, Shaftesbury never ceased to espouse the cause of neglected lunatics and to perfect legislation for their defence. Yet, during all those years, he never received one penny for his labours, though, as Chairman of the Permanent Lunacy Commission, six men under him received a salary of £1,500 each. This instance is only typical of his supremacy over selfishness, and his devotion to duty.[1] Needing money, he was offered a remunerative place in Canning's Ministry; he refused the post on principle, believing that, under the circumstances, he could render better service out of office.[2] Similarly, at one time or another, he declined several high and remunerative offices of State (including the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Irish Chief Secretaryship), so that he might be free in his labours for social legislation.[3] Yet, although repeatedly he turned a blind eye to lucrative position,[4] he was always a poor man; and for half a century he battled with spectres of poverty and debt.[5] Indeed, when many political acquaintances thought nothing of spending thousands of pounds on pictures or race-horses, the Earl was

[1] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 63.

[2] Hodder, i. 65.

[3] Office under Wellington (1828–30) was the only really lucrative position he ever held, and then his charitable gifts were most generous. Office under Peel (1834) lasted only a few months.

[4] *Life*, ii. 357

[5] Shaftesbury was £100,000 in debt when he inherited his father's title (1851), and during almost the whole of his career he was too poor to employ a secretary.

so financially embarrassed that he found it necessary to count every penny; while, as for time, he was equally hard pressed: "Often do I look at a book and wish for it as a donkey for a carrot; and I, like him, am disappointed." [1]

Ashley's embarrassments, however, were greatly aggravated by his father's opposition. As we have seen, the Sixth Earl was never a real father to his illustrious son. He was cold and legalistic by temperament and habit, and expressed no sympathy whatever with the aspirations of the disinherited multitude. But had he only withheld sympathy from his son's labours, the situation would have been different. On the contrary, he warmly fought Ashley's endeavours, claiming that he was holding up impossible ideals before the labouring classes, and thus encouraging discontent with the *status quo*. The Sixth Earl was a strong believer in tranquillity; but he did not allow himself to worry if tranquillity was based upon injustice. Like many politicians of his day he covered a multitude of sins with the bewitching mantle of "Natural Law": [2] indeed, if the truth be told, he was himself a bad landlord; the condition of labourers on his estate was disgraceful.[3]

The result of this situation was that for years ill-concealed estrangement existed between father and son, during which time the former kept an iron hand on the family treasury. Some idea of the cramping position in which Ashley was thus placed may be gathered from his Diary, December 31, 1846: "Many people choose to believe that I am rich, and ask accordingly; yet more than half my income is borrowed, to be repaid at some future day, with heavy accumulations of interest; eight children, the two eldest costing me more than £200 a year each; a ninth coming, and an allowance from my father of only £100 annually more than I had as a bachelor at Oxford! Are these sources of wealth?" [4]

On June 2, 1851, when Ashley was fifty, his father died, and the reformer, ascending to the Peerage, became Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury and lord of St. Giles mansion. Impoverished as

[1] L. Taylor, *op. cit.*, 40.

[2] The Sixth Earl was paying his labourers 7s. 6d. a week (*S. as Soc. Ref.*, 125).

[3] Parliamentary opponents cast up the condition of workmen on the Shaftesbury estate as worse than anything in factory districts. But they knew that Ashley had no power to change conditions while his father lived Complete renovation took place when he had power to act.

[4] *Life*, ii. 187.

was his condition, he immediately determined that, cost what it might, an improvement in the life of labourers on the estate would be the first task to which he should turn; and, with borrowed money, his resolve was translated into action. A perusal of the Diary during this period discloses not a word of spleen against his father, yet conditions now confronting him were extremely bad; they haunted him with the persistence of a nightmare, and gnawed at his soul like a beast of prey. "Surely I am the most perplexed of men," he wrote. "I have passed my life in rating others for allowing rotten houses and immoral, unhealthy dwellings; and now I am come into an estate rife with abominations! Why, there are things here to make one's flesh creep; and I have not a farthing to set them right"[1] Again: "I am half-pauperized; the debts are endless; no money is payable for a whole year, and I am not a young man. Every sixpence I expend—and spend I must on many things—is borrowed!"[2]

The heroic way in which Shaftesbury met and conquered this situation is expressive of his mettle. Before a penny was expended on personal desires, plans were launched for the erection of workmen's cottages, the planting of labourers' orchards and gardens, renovation of the village church, building of schools, early closing of the public-house, and organization of cricket teams and clubs. Also he appointed and paid a Scripture-reader to visit the people in their homes; he suppressed, at no small sacrifice, the vicious truck system,[3] whereby labourers, instead of being paid in money, were compelled to accept a large portion of their wages in produce, frequently at extortionate prices; he threw open his harvest fields to gleaners, and his parks to villagers as recreation ground. In short, he did everything within his power to develop a wholesome and happy community life: he found conditions "filthy, close, indecent, unwholesome:"[4] he left a model village behind him.[5]

But so great reform was only accomplished at great cost. For years "St. Giles" was heavily mortgaged; parcels of property had to be sold; family economy was carried to the maximum, while also, for a considerable period, the Earl had to leave the abode of his fathers and seek a humbler home, the

[1] *Life*, ii. 369. [2] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 49; *Life*, ii. 367.

[3] Some tenants left because of this demand, thus leaving certain farms unoccupied for a period.

[4] *Life*, ii. 367. [5] *Ibid.*, ii. 365–70

cost of upkeep being more than he could bear.[1] Indeed, Shaftesbury's annual gifts to benevolences were often greater than the rents he drew from his farms.[2] Nevertheless, although poverty hounded his footsteps and threatened disaster, undismayed he followed the light within him, and holding tenaciously to his course, pressed on with the confidence of a man whose eye was on a goal.

Sacrifice was the magic wand whereby the "Emancipator of Industrial England" worked his miracles; by sacrifice he dispelled the lowering clouds of national injustice, saturated with putrid water sucked from the cesspools of crass individualism; and with the same wand he beckoned his countrymen from the bogs of heartless competition to the heights of mutual aid. But cheerfully as his sacrifices were undertaken, and faithfully as they were carried through, certain of their demands were not unmingled with pain. Shaftesbury's super-sensitive spirit revelled in beauty, and the ancestral mansion had a picture gallery, boasting masterpieces dear to his heart. Yet, "one by one he sold the pictures, until the gallery was nearly empty";[3] for much as he loved these old treasures, he loved humanity more; and for humanity's sake they were sold. Again, St. Giles boasted considerable silver plate, stamped with the family crest; but much of this disappeared along the same road as the pictures.[4] However, though plate bearing the family crest had to be parted with, the love behind Shaftesbury's sacrifice was stamping a new and grander image on his country's soul—a crest of honour which can never tarnish, and which grows brighter with passing years.

Regarding the ways in which Shaftesbury's sacrifice expressed itself, we shall hear more later. Here it may be noted that no group of outcasts was beyond his pale; nevertheless all his endeavours were supported by first-hand knowledge of social conditions. He never worked with second-hand facts, or left commissions to carry out all investigations. On the contrary, he made it his rule to undertake a personal study of every phenomenon with which he concerned himself:[5] and often, on return from talking and supping with the disinherited in London's most ghastly slums, he was covered with an army of

[1] Diary, Jan. 27, 1852; *Life*, ii. 370.
[2] Pengelly, 90.
[3] Pengelly, *Peer and Philanthro*1.
[4] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 127.
[5] Speeches and Diaries bear abundant evidence of painstaking *personal* investigations.

crawling creatures, assuming relationship infinitely closer than that of any brother, but whose embarrassing familiarity is poor substitution for brotherly intimacy. Indeed, after certain tours of investigation, upon shaking his coat, vermin could be heard dropping " like peas." [1]

Even the underworld of crime was not unknown to the people's advocate. Through the friendship of Thomas Jackson, a City Missionary, he familiarized himself with the haunts of certain gangs of thieves ; and this familiarity gave birth to a piquant romance. In 1848, Ashley received a " round robin," signed by forty thieves, requesting him to confer with them and their gangs. He was not the man to refuse. Unattended, at the stroke of the hour, he arrived at the appointed place, in which had assembled some four hundred thieves, half of whom were housebreakers. So, with doors locked and guarded, this strange meeting began, Ashley, save for the missionary, being the only law-abiding citizen present. The story of the penitent thief was first read. Prayer followed. The guest of honour then asked his hosts to unburden their minds. Several spoke. Some claimed they had been forced into their desperate " trade " ; many craved a new chance toward an honest life.[2] Shaftesbury answered in a religious, but practical vein ; and the result was that when, a few months later, he succeeded in opening a way of escape, nearly three hundred thieves emigrated to the colonies, where they got a new start ; and most of them " made good." [3]

This, however, was only one of several emigration schemes engineered by Shaftesbury for society's unfortunates. But, besides his own endeavours, he entered into close co-operation with the emigration work of Barnardo's Homes, which, originating (1866) from Evangelical inspiration similar to his own, have sent thirty thousand well-trained orphan children to the frontiers of Empire.[4]

No considerable group of unfortunates, we repeat, was beyond the reach of Shaftesbury's outstretched hand ; yet he

[1] Shaftesbury makes several references to getting vermin-ridden (*Health, Physical Condition, Moral Habits and Education of the People*, 5). Quintin Hogg had experiences not dissimilar. See Chapter XII.

[2] Dickens's *Oliver Twist* relates to this period, and its picture of London's criminal life is scarcely overdrawn.

[3] Hodder, ii. 264 ff.

[4] After Barnardo's conversion, he intended to go abroad as a medical missionary, but becoming interested in such work as Shaftesbury was doing, he started missionary endeavour among the slums, and finally founded the Barnardo Homes.

cherished a pronounced conviction that *children* should be the recipients of special care. More than any other man of his century, Shaftesbury was the Moses who led the children of bondage into their Promised Land. But that accomplishment need create no surprise; the Earl was well equipped for his task. Few men have ever exercised such magic fascination over children as he. On one occasion a tiny girl, who, for some time, had stood timidly at a crowded street corner afraid to cross, having seen no one she dared ask for help, at last observed Shaftesbury approaching. No sooner had she caught a glimpse of him than, toddling up, she said: "Please, sir, will you help me across the road?" Safely on the other side, the tiny maiden profusely thanked the unknown gentleman; and he, in turn, playfully inquired why she chose him as her escort. Her answer was brief and frank: "Because, sir, you looked so kind." On another occasion a small child looked up into his face and said: "Please, sir, may I kiss you?" [1] He dearly loved little children, and they, instinctively, were drawn to him.[2]

Once, visiting George Yard Ragged School, Shaftesbury noticed a pale girl crying over her lessons. He approached and asked: "What is the matter! Cannot you learn your lessons?" "Yes, sir," returned the child, between sobs. "Yes, sir; I could if I wasn't so hungry. I've had no breakfast, and we seldom get anything but bread and water." Shaftesbury scrutinized the children present. Others were just as pale and pinched. His spirit was cut to the quick: at once he retired into an annex. Several minutes passed, and he did not return. His friend, George Holland, founder of that particular School, then entered the annex. The Earl was sitting in crouched posture, his head buried in his hands: his feelings were overcome. He was in tears. "Oh, George!" he exclaimed, "the poor children! What can be done for them? It is

[1] *Lord Shaftesbury* (a pamphlet).

[2] Shaftesbury's attachment to children is illustrated by the following incident. King Edward Industrial Schools were opening a new Home, and a little girl wrote Shaftesbury, asking him to give a bed. His reply reads: "My dear Small Tiny,—I must thank you for your nice letter, and say that, God willing, I will certainly call and see your new Home, and you too, little woman. You ask me to give a 'bed' to the new Home. To be sure I will; I will give *two* if you wish it, and they shall be called 'Tiny's petitions.' I am glad to see how well you write, and I shall be more glad to hear from Gert and your other friends that you are a good girl, that you read your Bible, say your prayers, and love the Blessed Lord Jesus Christ. May He ever be with you! Your affectionate friend, Shaftesbury" (*In Memoriam*, 22).

dreadful to see them starve like this!" [1] A few hours later a cart arrived with soup enough for four hundred children; and before that winter passed ten thousand basins of soup, made in Shaftesbury's kitchens at Grosvenor Square, were distributed to hungry children.[2]

In all Shaftesbury's endeavours to restore their birthright to the dispossessed, his primary purpose was spiritual. He aimed at dispelling darkness by a flood of light, at breaking the dominion of ignorance and sin with well-marshalled forces of ethical-religious education; at extricating legislation from vested interests and making it the expression of righteousness. His purpose was to convert the soul and quicken the conscience. Yet, though his head was well above the clouds, and his eye gleamed with the vision of things ideal, his feet were on the solid earth. He believed that a transfiguration of his countrymen could alone save the nation; nevertheless he was convinced that for vast multitudes, such transformation could be expected, only after certain initial duties had been performed.

Among these duties Shaftesbury continually emphasized the necessity of providing decent houses, pure water, fresh air and wholesome recreation for the entire populace. It was only in such an environment, he contended, that people could be expected to find their souls.[3] Indeed, until society assumed this obvious responsibility, he believed it was little less than hypocritical to expect vast multitudes of casual workmen to rise to the level of self-respecting citizens. Society, he protested, must first restore to the dispossessed these natural rights before the duties of citizenship, or the fruits of a wisely ordered life, could fairly be demanded of them; therefore, until that duty be performed, the tenor of his doctrine was: "*Do not blame them; blame yourselves; you are your brother's keeper!*" [4]

Shaftesbury's speeches contain scores of pictures portraying the awful domiciliary condition of districts with which he was drawn into contact. The following is typical: "Dirt and disrepair, such as ordinary folks can form no notion of; darkness that may be felt; odours that may be handled; faintness

[1] *Children's Champion* 95.

[2] *Ibid.*, 84–5. Board Schools had to learn much from Ragged Schools in providing parental care for children born into rum-soaked, half-starved environments.

[3] See Shaftesbury's speeches before Nat. Assoc. for Prom. of Soc. Sc.

[4] *Health, Physical Condition, Moral Habits and Education* (1858), 5.

that can hardly be resisted, hold despotic rule in these dens of despair." [1] No wonder then that this untiring advocate of education should have turned on well-fed, comfortably housed critics, who sneered at his efforts, by asking if it was fair that children be compelled to return from school into contaminating conditions, over which they have no control. Did this state of affairs allow the school an honest chance? Was it sane to rant about the failure of education when children were subjected to a depraved environment? Shaftesbury insisted that the housing problem was inseparably associated with education. He demanded that physical, mental and spiritual progress march forward hand in hand; and he believed that any separation of these triple graces was fatal to decent society.[2] Therefore he denounced, with all his vehemence, the system which could " compel vice and misery with one hand and endeavour to repair it with the other." [3]

It is interesting also to note that in the record of Shaftesbury's endeavours among his outcast countrymen, we search vainly for a single suggestion of arrogance or cant. Among his fellow peers he was often considered a proud, unbending man; among the poor this mask was flung aside; for he moved freely in their midst as a brother and friend. Indeed, no other British nobleman has ever so won the love of the working multitude. And the reason of this conquest is simple: it came as a by-product of his faith, asserting equality of all mankind before God. Shaftesbury, therefore, never placed himself, or his class, upon a pedestal. He despised the attitude of the Lady Bountiful who would have the unfortunate eat crumbs from her hand, as pigeons in the market-place; indeed, his whole career was a warfare against the deeply rooted caste system defended by Dr. Paley, when, in an open pamphlet, he asked: " What does the labouring man's child require but innocence and industry? " [4]

To those dwelling in sumptuous palaces, with minds absorbed in thoughts of wealth, or power or romance, Paley's phrases must have acted as an opiate: for did not his doctrine free them from social responsibility toward their labouring countrymen? Shaftesbury's position, however, was strangely different; he

[1] Speech before Social Science Congress (1866), 9.
[2] *Education of Working Classes* (1843).
[3] *Condition of Labouring Population* (1843), 26.
[4] Paley's *Reasons for Contentment addressed to Labouring Part of British Pubilc.*

had "seen visions and dreamed dreams." Moreover, he had compared his visions with society as he saw it among the nations' hardest workers; and the comparison made his heart bleed. His familiarity with the problems of the labouring world enabled him to realize that Paley's pretty words, "innocence and industry," meant, in reality, nothing less than *ignorance* and *drudgery*: and to him it was a denial of the whole conception of the Kingdom of God to consign any members of society to an existence so sordid; but that offence, he considered doubly great when he remembered that those abandoned members performed an essential and honourable service to the commonwealth.

Whether Shaftesbury was dealing with the Ten Hours Bill, Mines and Collieries, Brick Fields, Chimney Sweeps, Sanitation, Opium Smuggling, the Liquor Traffic, Ragged Schools, Agricultural Labourers, Model Housing, or any other of a score of problems with which he grappled, he strove always to ascertain and present the *facts* of the case.[1] He called a spade a spade; he exalted Truth even when she must chastise the things he loved. He was an ardent patriot, a religious zealot, a friend of industrial progress; nevertheless, he demanded that patriotism, religion and industry should grapple honestly with life's problems, fearlessly facing facts. He held in contempt any sort of "whited sepulchre"; but he had profound reverence for unvarnished veracity: therefore he dared not conceal the light revealed to him, even though gruesome objects were exposed by its rays.

Thus, speaking on "Education of the Working Classes,"[2] Shaftesbury felt compelled, if need be, to make new enemies and shock old friends, by informing the Government that criminals were being "spawned by the filth and corruption of the times":[3] that "plague spots" threatened to poison the nation's vitality. Wealth, position and display, he declared, could be of no avail if the nation became "rotten at heart." In like manner, dealing with the industrial exploitation of women and children, he reminded the Legislature that if only "those who have the power will be as ready to abate oppression as those who have suffered will be ready to forgive the sense of it,"[4] social justice and national honour would be within reach.

[1] *Talks with the People*, 45–6.
[2] Hansard, H. C., Feb. 28, 1843.
[3] *Speeches*, 83.
[4] *Mines and Collieries*, 4.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, AGED 29, AS HE APPEARED WHEN COMMENCING HIS PROLONGED FIGHT AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE

Wilberforce, probably, was Shaftesbury's greatest predecessor in non-partisan, Christian statesmanship, and was greatly admired by him

Grappling with the housing problem he repeatedly asserted that " disease is expensive, while health alone is cheap ! " [1] " Might not well-drained, well-ventilated, well-arranged cottages supersede well-built, well-ordered and expensive prisons ? " [2] Agricultural labourers he referred to as a " sort of chattel, for whom neither wealth, nor station, nor age has raised a bulwark against tyranny " ; while, again, slum conditions he described as " this inferno that reeks about us."

This reverence for truth, and love of plain-speaking and fair-dealing, often made Shaftesbury rise magnificently above the national and religious prejudices from which no man is wholly free. He was a Protestant and an Englishman to the bone ; yet, after careful study of labouring conditions in the collieries of the kingdom, he emphatically passed the laurels for superior humanity to Catholic and rebellious Ireland. In most collieries in England, Scotland and Wales, children of tender years, as well as women, were working long hours underground. Ireland, on the other hand, was free from this inhumanity.[3] Hence Shaftesbury, commenting on these conditions said : " I must observe that with respect to that country, neither children of tender years nor females are employed in underground operations. I have often, sir, admired the generosity and warm-heartedness of the Irish people ; and I must say, that if this is to be taken as a specimen of their barbarism, I would not exchange it for all the refinement and polish of the most civilized nations of the globe." [4]

The *purpose* of Shaftesbury's endeavours among the disinherited is described in his own words. He was endeavouring " to set at liberty a legion of physical and moral truths long and hopelessly despised and imprisoned by the ignorance or indifference of our forefathers." [5] The *determination* with which this purpose was translated into action may be judged from his reply to timid souls who asked where his reforms would stop. " I will stop nowhere, so long as any portion of this mighty evil remains. . . ." [6] Finally, the *joy* with which he began to reap

[1] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 134. [2] *Public Health* (1859), 18.

[3] *Report of Commission on Employment of Children, 1842 (Mines).* In their attacks on Ashley's Mines and Collieries Bill in House of Lords, mining magnates claimed that Ireland did not employ women or small children underground because men's wages in Irish pits were so small as to offer no inducement for employing women and children. Chap. XVIII discusses these debates.

[4] *Mines and Collieries* (1842), 9 ; Hansard, June 7, 1842.

[5] *Public Health* (1866), 3.

[6] *Regulation of Labour of Children in Calico Print-Works*, 21.

the fruits of long labour, is suggested by his oft-reiterated assertion: "I would rather be President of the Ragged School Union than of the Royal Academy." And, as President of that Union, he may be pardoned his boast; because before Mr. Forster introduced his Education Bill (1870), the Ragged Schools were educating and befriending, in day institutions alone, more than 40,000 children, representative of the lowest social strata, many of whom, without this friendly, almost paternal, guidance, would naturally have drifted toward crime.[1]

One source of Shaftesbury's influence was that he possessed, in marked degree, the power of kindling in other breasts the fires of his own enthusiasm; and not least among the fires thus kindled was that which beckoned the Prince Consort into social reform. Of all problems dear to the heart of that remarkable man, none was dearer than the housing problem, and the nation's care of her labouring population. Yet this interest was the immediate offspring of friendship with Shaftesbury. Indeed, Prince Albert's first investigations among East End slums were personally conducted by Shaftesbury; and from experiences thus gleaned, dates the Consort's personal interest in social problems as such. Little wonder then that the Prince, in 1848, addressing the Society for Improving the Condition of Labouring Classes, referred to the success of model-lodging house schemes, loan funds, ground allotments and similar efforts, as "owing particularly to the kind feelings, the great experience and the undoubted zeal of Lord Ashley."[2]

But the effect of Prince Albert's conversion greatly surpassed the measure of his own labours. By his endeavours a royal precedent was established, and since that time Britain's ruling family has been much more awake to its personal responsibility in helping both to alleviate suffering and to solve the social problem, as a whole.[3]

Shaftesbury's ideals and aspirations, we reiterate, were moulded by his faith. Yet the Evangelical Movement, inspiring that faith, called few of the "high or mighty" into its service. For the most part, particularly in its early stages, this Revival was bitterly opposed by wealth, literary influence,

[1] C. J. Montague, *Sixty Years in Waifdom* (1904); also Chapters XI–XII.
[2] *Speeches and Addresses of Prince Consort*, 90.
[3] C. J. Montague, chap. ii, "Social Problems in 1844," regarding Queen Victoria's interest. Compare this with shameful Court conditions described in Thackeray's *Four Georges*, or with Royal interests of Restoration period.

vested interests, and, indeed, by almost all branches of smart and titled society.[1] It was, on the whole, a magnificent demonstration of weak men made strong, and of " things that are not being made to confound the things that are." The few " privileged " persons, however, who surrendered to its call, and dedicated their lives to its service, were mightily used.

John Wesley, an Oxford fellow, awakened the conscience of the entire English-speaking world to religious activity ; and to-day he is acknowledged as the special prophet of thirty-five millions of zealously religious people, working for social righteousness in all quarters of the globe. Again, wherever the English tongue is spoken, Charles Wesley has set countless multitudes singing his hymns of triumph. Whitefield, the gifted orator, established a style of preaching which captured the multitude and forced the pulpit into closer relationship with life's daily problems. John Howard, a gentleman of private means, humanized the whole prison system, and stamped his influence on Christendom.[2] Wilberforce, a member of Parliament, along with his fellow " enthusiasts," Clarkson, Newton, Macaulay and Sharp, overthrew slavery through sheer vehemence of religious conviction.[3] The Thorntons, wealthy merchants, set the example of stewardship, and dedicated their fortune to religious efforts, social and missionary ;[4] while again, Cowper, the Evangelical poet, led the literary revolt against pedantic verse, so typical of Pope and his century.[5]

Then, too, a far-reaching precedent was established by the leadership of certain highly talented women within the Evangelical fold. Lady Huntingdon never quite forgot that she belonged to a titled family in eighteenth-century England ; yet

[1] Lady Huntingdon's case was a rare exception.

[2] Howard's *State of Prisons in England and Wales* gives ample evidence of his Evangelical fervour.

[3] Clarkson might be styled a Broad Churchman ; but the other emancipation leaders were all Evangelicals, the " Methodist Revival " having created the popular enthusiasm without which the slave's cause would have been doomed to failure. However, it should be borne in mind that certain Utilitarians, like Bentham, threw in their lot with " the Saints." Professor Élie Halévy's book, *Religion and Culture* (*History of English People in 1815*), is very suggestive on this point. Wilberforce, on several occasions, paid generous tribute to Fox's warm advocacy of abolition.

[4] J. H. Overton, *Evangelical Revival in Eighteenth Century*, 86 ff.

[5] Overton stoutly challenges the popular theory that Cowper's attacks of melancholy were produced either by his Evangelical faith, or by his friendship with Newton (*Evangelical Revival in Eighteenth Century*, 92, also 73).

there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of her conversion, or the far-flung influence of her endeavours. She turned her drawing-room into a religious forum, and dedicated her fortune to the Calvinistic branch of the Revival; while also she spent her energies unsparingly in all manner of labours for "the cause" she had at heart. Hannah More gave expression to the practical character of this awakening by establishing Sunday Schools, and by her life-sustained efforts for social betterment among the poor;[1] while, in addition, she silenced the sneers of literary scoffers by her brilliant essays on "The Manners of the Great," and "The Religion of the Fashionable World."[2] Then again, Mrs. Fry, the Quaker preacher, belonged to this same religious kin and was mightily used as a teacher among the poor, a prison reformer and a champion of social justice.[3]

As for the impetus given by Evangelicalism to international understanding and good will, little need here be said. It is a recognized fact that this Revival gave birth to the whole Protestant Missionary Crusade, which to-day is a force for international righteousness in every continent. No sooner was the Evangelical Movement established in Britain than the words of its chief prophet, "I look upon all the World as my Parish," began to fire the imagination of his followers; and the great Missionary Societies of Protestantism sprang up in rapid succession. With the fruits of this vast missionary enterprise, making such generous use of science and education for humanitarian ends, the world is now more or less familiar. Everyone knows something of its sacrificial work, wrought in Africa and India, in China and Japan; but perhaps the greatest accomplishment of the whole Revival is one frequently overlooked. North America is to-day overwhelmingly Protestant and Evangelical because of the contagious enthusiasm created by the eighteenth-century Revival

[1] The Social work of Hannah More and her sister was financed by Wilberforce. The satire which Mr. Hammond pours on Hannah More forms a caricature out of harmony with the facts of her life (*Lord Shaftesbury*, 250). Indeed, wherever Hammond touches the Evangelical Movement he reflects all the popular prejudice against it, and shows no real appreciation of its social significance.

[2] She also published several widely read tracts and a novel.

[3] Quakers and Evangelicals had much in common. George Fox's emphasis on the "inner light," and his resort to field preaching, influenced the early developments of Evangelicalism, while, on the other hand, the enthusiasm created by this Revival re-established the Quakers in their faith (Essays on "George Fox" and "John Wesley" in Luke S. Walmsley's *Fighters and Martyrs for Freedom of Faith* (1912)).

in England ; [1] and because every convert, wherever he went, was a missionary among his fellows.

Shaftesbury's conversion drew him into the spiritual succession of this great movement, and he, like his predecessors, Wesley and Wilberforce, John Howard and Hannah More, was one of the few privileged persons mightily used in its service. True, by his day, popular ridicule of Evangelicals had ceased,[2] and the movement was recognized as a tremendous force throughout the country ; nevertheless, a peculiar, and most important, application of its power was left to Shaftesbury : and against the application of that power, hoary-headed interests and prejudices were to join forces in assault.

[1] The whole anti-alcohol and anti-opium campaign, for instance, in both U.S.A. and Canada was started by the Evangelical Churches, though certain other forces, ethical and economic, have, in recent years, collaborated with them in their fight.

[2] How deeply rooted was the Episcopal prejudice against Evangelicals may be grasped from the fact that they were not represented by a Bishop of their own till 1815. And Dr. Ryder, the first Evangelical appointed, was brother to a Cabinet Minister. Prejudice in the Universities, too, was almost equally strong, for well into the nineteenth century the work of Simeon at Cambridge met with open opposition.

PART II: A LIFE-CRUSADE AND THE FRUIT IT BORE

CHAPTER VII

ON THE EVE OF SHAFTESBURY'S LABOURS

IN the pages preceding we have presented, however inadequately, some conception of the ideals and aspirations which moulded Shaftesbury's career. The facts of the case demanded that this subject be dealt with at length, for never was there an English statesman who more openly professed belief in ethical-religious principles, and never was there a statesman of any country who stood more unflinchingly by principles professed. Therefore, having now seen something of the origin and content of Shaftesbury's faith, it is our further business to inquire regarding its fruits.

Most celebrated reformers have their names associated with a single cause. Wilberforce and Clarkson immediately bring to mind the abolition of the slave trade. Mention John Howard or Elizabeth Fry and there arises the vision of humanized prisons. Speak of Hannah More or Robert Raikes and spontaneous reaction suggests education and care for outcast children. Shaftesbury's case is different. His name is a talisman bringing to remembrance not less than a half dozen major reforms, in all of which he was prime mover. Indeed, so vital are some of the reforms he headed that frequently they are taken for granted as an ancient heritage of Anglo-Saxon peoples.

Some idea of the breadth of interest characterizing Shaftesbury's activity is suggested by *Chambers's Encyclopædia*. In its brief article on the Seventh Earl we read: "To mention all the religious and benevolent societies in which he was interested would be to name the most prominent and useful agencies for good of the present day." This statement is correct. Almost

every movement of his time struggling for peaceful reform, for industrial justice, religious education, child welfare, decent housing, improved health and recreation, for missionary endeavour, humane legislation, and international good will was supported, if not led, by Shaftesbury. Yet it is only fair to remember that Shaftesbury was, in large degree, spokesman of the Evangelical body, and, not infrequently, of the "Nonconformist Conscience." [1] In fact, without the support of ethical values created by the Revival, Shaftesbury's victories could never have been won.[2] Evangelicals or "Consecrated Cobblers," as Sidney Smith scoffingly called them, like Early Christians, were long a despised people, with little representation in Parliament.[3] Nevertheless, they were possessed of an ardour which flourished in the midst of persecution; and so, in their own way, they proceeded to propagate their convictions and, perhaps unconsciously, to prepare themselves for the day when their representatives could no longer be sneered from court, and when Parliament itself must reckon with their power.

The first stage of development therefore, was marked by open air and lay preaching for the multitude, class and band meetings for young people and adults, Sunday Schools for children, youths and adults, co-operative aid societies for the poor, friendly loans, penny pamphlets and a religious magazine. Through such means, while the scorner ridiculed, and many an "orthodox" Churchman sneered, early Evangelicals forged out their attitude to social and legislative problems.[4] They had little learning and less science to help in their quest; but they were actuated by a heart of love—by a throbbing sense of human brotherhood, which strove continually to express itself in the common good.[5]

With the second generation, however, the scene changes. They were no longer a despised and struggling people. Society had gradually been awakened from its slumber. At last aristocratic and self-indulgent people began to realize that drinking-

[1] Dr. T. C. Hall, *Evangelical Revival and Philanthropy* (*Christ and Civilization*, 391–2).

[2] *Evangelical Magazine*, early nineteenth century, for idea of their interest in social progress; also *Christian Observer*.

[3] John Simon, *Revival of Religion in Eighteenth-Century England* (1917).

[4] Nehemiah Curnock's Standard Edition of Wesley's *Journal* contains a mine of social information.

[5] P. Cadman, *Three Religious Leaders of Oxford*, on Wesley; J. A. Faulkner, *Wesley as Sociologist, Theologian and Churchman*; Dr. W. H. Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*.

bout jests, drawing-room satire, or good-natured contempt had proved ineffectual as a check to the growth of Evangelicalism. Indeed, this ridicule only freed the movement of its weaklings, and the second generation was a well-organized body, fighting heroically for social righteousness, and led by men well trained to "stand four-square" against all winds of opposition or contempt.

The nucleus of this second generation of "the second founders of the Church of England" [1] centred in the Clapham Sect; and remarkable indeed was the influence it exercised over Britain's social development. Equally remarkable, moreover, were some of the characters who met for consultation in Clapham. Included within their fold were Wilberforce and Newton, Hannah More and Granville Sharp, Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell, Scott and Venn, Howard and Simeon, Zachary Macaulay and the Milner brothers. These men lived when the horrors of the French Revolution were over-capitalized in the interests of reactionary dogmatism, and when every progressive change, no matter how laudable its purpose, was violently attacked as a "French principle," or the first step toward anarchy.[2] Yet, in spite of all opposition, including the "patriotic" [3] cries of vested wrongs, these Evangelicals, who hated revolution as much as any Tory squire, were successful in abolishing the slave trade, humanizing both the prison system and the penal code, popularizing education, stimulating an interest in world missions, and at least partially awakening the national conscience to the necessity for a Christian solution of the whole social problem.[4] Indeed, it is in such labours as these that Professor Halévy, in his admirable *History of the English People in 1815*, discovers the elemental cause of Britain's developments. For, after analysing and discarding both economic and political theories of England's social achievements, this eminent authority is driven to the Evangelical Movement as affording the only satisfactory explanation of a marvellous record of peaceful progress. One sentence is suggestive of his conclusions: "In the vast work of social organization, which is one of the dominant characteristics of nineteenth-century England,

[1] Sir James Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* (1849 ed.), 168.

[2] Brown, P. A., *French Revolution in English History* (1918); also Burke's *Reflections*.

[3] Dr. Johnson said: "Patriotism, Sir, is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

[4] Sir James Stephen, *The Clapham Sect* (*Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, 1858).

it would be difficult to overestimate the part played by the Wesleyan revival." [1]

With such an assembly, therefore, of spiritual kinsmen as forerunners, one might imagine that Shaftesbury's path was well prepared for the reforms he pursued. Such a deduction, however, without substantial modification, would be erroneous. True, much soil had been cultivated, much seed had been sown, and no inconsiderable harvest had been reaped by his spiritual progenitors. True, too, the hope of greater harvests ahead was not small. But Shaftesbury was scarcely started on his task when the storm clouds of the Oxford Movement began to gather ; and when those clouds broke, the thunder of theological controversy, though it did little to deepen spiritual life, did much to silence the " still, small voice " of practical religion.

From the Evangelical's point of view, Tractarianism had, at least, four disastrous consequences, militating against a religious solution of social problems. (1) Accentuating differences rather than agreements among religious people, it divided England's Protestantism, thus making united action for righteousness more difficult. (2) It centred attention on dogmas, sacramental and doctrinal, to at least the partial exclusion of ethical considerations.[2] (3) It so emphasized hierarchical tradition as to divert investigations to Restoration, Mediæval and Patristic channels, neglecting all creative work on the life of Jesus, or on the apostolic period.[3] Thus it became *the foe of modern and the friend of Mediæval learning*, with the result that spiritual energy which should have been expended in solving social problems was dissipated in reasserting hierarchical dogmatism and elaborating ritualistic romance. (4) Finally, it rather prided itself on its appeal to the " cultured " class. It wanted the world to know that it was a university endeavour, led by dons ; and it usurped to itself the title " Oxford Movement." Its exponents did no preaching to the disinherited at the mouth of the coal-pit, by the doors of the workshop, in the market-place, or in the field ; and its tracts were designed primarily for " the cultured."

[1] *Op. cit.*, 372. Only the first volume of Halévy's work is yet translated, but this volume contains fifty pages of the most interesting bibliography ; also J. H. Overton, *Evangelical Revival in Eighteenth-Century England*.

[2] See Sir James Stephen's treatment of " Evangelical Succession " (*Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*) ; Dr. Parkes Cadman, *Three Religious Leaders of Oxford*, on Newman (1916) ; L. Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, on Cardinal Manning.

[3] Storr, V., *Development of English Theology in Nineteenth Century*, for suggestive treatment of this subject.

It was, in fact, a conscious effort to reach the nation through "Oxford"; and the tragedy to Evangelicals was that many "Oxford" sons of their most eminent reformers, notably the Wilberforces,[1] were won away from the social-ethical enthusiasm of their fathers to the ecclesiastical enthusiasm of the Tractarians. They were drawn from brotherly service toward social outcasts, on which their fathers had centred, into a sacerdotal fellowship of college zealots, too busy constructing Mediæval Utopias to have any considerable time left for social problems.[2] True this Evangelical acquisition added some social fervour to the Tractarian cause; but the fact remains that the Oxford sons of certain Evangelicals joined themselves to Pusey, who declared that "he and Maurice did not believe in the same God."[3]

The aristocratic attitude of the Oxford Movement is well illustrated by the eminent jurist, Sir James Stephen, who keenly followed the origin and growth of the whole crusade. In his *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* (1849), Sir James informs us that the Movement was "speedily encumbered by a throng who will always attach themselves to any leader who exhibits a supercilious contempt for the common herd and stands haughtily aloof from it."[4]

Ample illustration of the Tractarians' superior bearing is found in the life of Richard Hurrell Froude, who, along with Keble, Newman and Pusey, was instigator of the Movement.[5] True, Froude died in 1836, when the cause was still young; but his two volume *Remains*, published in 1838–39 by Newman and Keble, throw light on the spirit of its leaders. With charming humility, this arch-foe of Evangelicalism and Puritanism, asks "How is it that *we* (Tractarians) are so far in *advance* of our generation?" And then, as it were to demonstrate that *advancement*, he considered it his solemn duty to abhor everything regarded with favour by political or religious antagonists. Indeed, living or dead, all with whom he

[1] Wilberforce's three sons were drawn into Oxford Movement. Two became Roman Catholics; Samuel, Bishop of Oxford, was High Church. Wilberforce's son-in-law also went over to Rome.

[2] Even Newman, as an old man, said he "had never considered social questions in their relation to faith . . ." (Marson, *God's Co-operative Society*, 71).

[3] Liddon's *Life of Pusey*, iv. 60.

[4] P. 174. Compare with Wesley's love for, and continual intercourse with the common people.

[5] The Movement nominally commenced with Keble's sermon, "National Apostasy" (1833), but actually it was under way before that date.

disagreed, received his impartial denunciation. Hence, his hatred for John Hampden he exhibits "with much zeal but with little knowledge." [1] Milton he describes as that "detestable author"; and he gloats like a revengeful child over a statement giving him "a better right to hate" the Puritan poet.[2] Again, his feelings toward the "reformers" of the Church of England were of similar brand; for, though they would be correctly described as warm, they could scarcely be styled affectionate. Even the martyrs received no mercy at his hands; referring to Britain's first Protestant Archbishop, he exclaimed: "The only good I know of Cranmer was that he burnt well." [3]

But this *advancement* of Froude and his school over their generation, is perhaps most strangely expressed in his attitude toward the negroes, who long had been victims of mercenary traders in his native land. Forced to admit that abolition of slavery was the immediate result of Evangelical enthusiasm, he felt compelled to assume a derogatory attitude even toward ex-slaves, and to "chuckle over" difficulties or failures which at first confronted the emancipation Government. Thus, in copious letters from the West Indies to friends in England [4] we find innumerable references to "niggers" and "niggerland," many side-thrusts at abolitionists, and not a few indirect apologies for slavery itself. On November 23, 1834, he writes: "I have felt it a kind of duty to sustain in my mind an habitual hostility to the niggers, and to chuckle over the failures of the new system; as if these poor wretches concentrated in themselves all the whiggery, dissent, cant and abomination, that have been ranged on their side." [5]

Other effusions of this leader in the "advanced" school exhibit equal intolerance. Shortly before the date of the above quotation he says: "I am ashamed to say I cannot get over my prejudices against the niggers; every one I meet seems to me like the incarnation of the whole anti-slavery society and Fowell Buxton at their head." [6] In still another West Indian letter he writes: "It is curious to observe how every one out

[1] Stephen, *op. cit.*, 189.
[2] *Ibid.*, 190.
[3] L. Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, 18.
[6] Froude was in West Indies seeking a cure for consumption, from which he died.
[5] *Remains*, i. 382.
[4] *Ibid.*, 377.

here, planters, parsons and all have eaten dirt, and give in to the anti-slavery cant." [1]

These outbursts, certainly, are not illustrative of Froude at his best, and probably present him in his worst light.[2] He had many admirable qualities and undoubtedly was honest in his convictions. Nevertheless, such utterances reflect a Tractarian attitude all too common toward the ethical ardour of Evangelicals; and they help us to appreciate the difficulties Shaftesbury faced at the very commencement of his crusade.

Ashley took up the torch of social progress when the Oxford Movement was already in the air and was soon to loom large on religious horizons. Indeed, during the most arduous years of his political career, Tractarian leaders were playing the chief rôle in theological drama; and the fact that they gained possession of so strategic a position as Oxford University for the central presentation of their sacerdotal romance, greatly enhanced their ability for propaganda, and greatly helped them to catch both eye and ear of the literary public.[3]

Thus, as Shaftesbury faced his life's work, certain obvious consequences of the Oxford Movement enhanced the difficulty of his labours. Protestantism was being further divided.[4] Evangelicalism was being weakened and shorn of no inconsiderable proportion of its latent leadership. Religious zeal was being diverted from practical efforts toward social righteousness to theological controversy concerning doctrinal and ecclesiastical dogma. Indeed, as we study conditions on the eve of Shaftesbury's labours, we realize that his voyage must needs be stormy, and that many arduous years must elapse before his port could be reached. But the young Lord's faith was strong, his courage dauntless, his cause true. He had counted the cost, and was not the man to turn his back on humanity's need.

[1] *Remains*, 348. Abolition of "*slave-trade*" was accomplished by legislation 1807; slave-owning was abolished in West Indies 1833.

[2] Froude's brother, the historian, was for a time a zealous Tractarian; but later he lost all faith and became a Rationalist. Newman's brother, Francis, also turned Rationalist.

[3] Later, when Rationalists were gaining ascendancy in the Church and questioning the doctrinal tenets of Christianity, Shaftesbury was asked which he considered more dangerous—the Romanizing faction or the "Neologians"? He replied that the Romanizers were greater enemies to the Church of England as by law established, but the Rationalists to the Church of Christ.

[4] *Sunday Express* (London), May 17, 1925, for article suggesting effects of Oxford Movement on Established Church to-day and pointedly asking: "Canterbury or Rome?" C. J. Montague's *Sixty Years in Waifdom* shows increasing reluctance of Ritualists to co-operate in social endeavours they cannot control.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TREATMENT OF LUNATICS

IT was not till the fourth decade of his century that Shaftesbury found his stride as reformer. From childhood days of intimacy with Maria Millis, religious motives had dominated his mind ; and on Harrow Hill, a boy of fourteen, he had sworn to dedicate his life to the service of the friendless and oppressed. But he was reared in a conservative environment where the *status quo* was adorned with all the sanctity of providential inspiration. Hence only gradually did he come to realize the irreconcilability of his religious convictions with many deeply rooted manifestations of the social order. Experience had to guide his footsteps ; and it was, primarily, the experience gained in examining conditions of industrial life that shook his hereditary traditionalism and forced him, in faith's light, to re-analyse accepted standards of social intercourse.

One of his reforms, however, was well under way before he entered upon his industrial campaign, and that reform leads us to the subject of this chapter.

With all our consciousness of ills, under which society groans to-day, it nevertheless, is difficult even to imagine the mistreatment of lunatics in the past. Before the Reformation asylums for the insane were unknown.[1] Lunacy was interpreted as a pernicious form of demon possession, and was considered outside the scope of medical treatment. Consequently, repellent tortures were devised to exorcise these " evil spirits," supposed to reign with maniacal rage over their victim's mind.[2] Cages, chains, prisons, floggings, strait-jackets, manacles, darkness, cruelty and semi-starvation, were all accepted as legitimate treatment of dangerously " possessed " victims. Harmless

[1] Shaftesbury, *Regulation of Lunatics* (H.C., June 6, 1845) ; *Speeches*, 182.

[2] Mr. G. K. Chesterton introduces this mediæval idea of demon possession, in lighter and more entertaining aspect, in his drama, *Magic*.

lunatics, on the other hand, were allowed to roam about the country making "sport for the people." [1]

After the Reformation, which introduced greater freedom of thought, and, at least, partial emancipation from traditional standards and "infallible doctrines," some progress was made. But age-long prejudices are not quickly broken down, and the record of lunatics' treatment to the close of the eighteenth century, and even in the early nineteenth, is a gruesome tale. As late as 1771 "in the old Hospital of Bethlehem in Moorfields, London," raving maniacs were exhibited to the vulgar gaze for the handsome fee of twopence; and in order to make spectators feel that the menagerie was worth the charge, lunatics were often goaded, like wild beasts, into fury.[2] Indeed such exhibitions of inhumanity were long accepted as one of the popular amusements of the people.

Gradually, as the social conscience became more alert, such barbarism was subdued. But the reform process was all too tardy; Mr. R. G. Hill says: "In the early part of the present century (nineteenth) lunatics were kept constantly chained to walls in dark cells, and had nothing to lie upon but straw. The keepers visited them, whip in hand, and lashed them into obedience. They were also half drowned in 'baths of surprise,' and in some cases semi-strangulation was resorted to. The 'baths of surprise' were so constructed that the patients in passing over a trap door fell in; some patients were chained in wells and the water made to rise until it reached their chins. One horrible contrivance was a rotary chair, in which patients were made to sit and were revolved at a frightful speed. The chair was in common use. Patients, women, as well as men, were flogged at particular periods, chained and fastened to iron bars, and even confined in iron cages." [3]

With the details of all reformatory measures before Shaftesbury's endeavours, we are not concerned. Certain precedents, however, dare not be passed over in silence. Special honour is due to Philippe Pinel, a French physician, who, at the very period when the Reign of Terror raged in fury, was accomplishing an historic work. In 1792, Dr. Pinel obtained his Government's permission to conduct certain experiments with lunatics at the

[1] Hodder, i. 91.

[2] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 50. Popular sports of this period, it must be remembered, were cock-fighting, bear-baiting, etc.

[3] R. G. Hill, *Lunacy: its Past and its Present*, 1.

Bicêtre, Paris. Kindliness was the essence of his treatment, and marvellous were its fruits.

Shaftesbury was fascinated by Pinel's experiments, and in the Commons, he quoted at length from an official narrative. Part of that quotation may be of interest here: "He (Pinel) resolved to try his experiments by liberating fifty madmen, and began by unchaining twelve. The first was an English officer, who had been bound in his dungeon forty years, and whose history everybody had forgotten. His keepers approached him with dread; he had killed one of their comrades by a blow with his manacles. Pinel entered his cell unattended, and told him that he should be at liberty to walk at large, on condition of his promising to put on the camisole or strait-waistcoat. The maniac disbelieved him, but obeyed his directions mechanically. The chains of the miserable prisoner were removed; the door of his cell was left open. Many times he was seen to raise himself and fall backwards—his limbs gave way; they had been fettered during forty years. At length he was able to stand, and to stalk to the door of his dark cell and gaze, with exclamations of wonder and delight on the beautiful sky.

"He spent the day in walking to and fro, was no more confined, and during the remaining two years which he spent at Bicêtre assisted in the management of the house. The next madman liberated was a soldier of the French guard, who had been in chains ten years, and was the object of general terror. His disorder had been kept up by cruelty and bad treatment. When liberated he assisted Pinel in breaking the chains of his fellow-prisoners. He became immediately kind and attentive, and was ever after the devoted friend of his deliverer. . . . The result was beyond all hope. Tranquillity and harmony succeeded to tumult and disorder; even the most furious maniacs became tractable." [1]

Although a tide of humane enthusiasm followed the eighteenth-century Revival, any concentration on better treatment for lunatics was slow. True, both Howard and Wilberforce created some sentiment in this direction, but their time was fully occupied with prison reform and abolition.[2] In 1774, however, as the result of a Committee's Report, an Act was passed regulating

[1] *Regulation of Lunatic Asylums* (1845), *Speeches*, 183–4; Daniel Hack Tuke, M.D., LL.D., *History of Insane in British Isles*, for description of early treatment.

[2] D. H. Tuke, *Reform in Treatment of Insane* (1892), 1–15.

private asylums, but it was "so framed that it could accomplish nothing."[1] Again, in 1808, an Act was passed encouraging the erection of County Asylums for pauper lunatics, but twenty years later only nine counties had taken action. Meanwhile, in 1792, the Quakers, whose enthusiasm was quickened by the Methodist Movement, had quietly proceeded to build a "Retreat" of their own, at York. Humanity toward madmen was the guiding principle of their experiment; and success crowned their efforts. Recognition of their principle, however, was tardy: for as late as 1819, in Parliamentary debate, Lord Eldon declared "there could not be a more false humanity than an over humanity with regard to persons afflicted with insanity."[2]

Striking contrast between the Quakers' York achievements and the failures of a public asylum in the same city led to the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry (1814 and 1815), with the result that every officer of the public asylum was dismissed, and "a flood of light poured in upon the bars and chains and handcuffs, the filth and nakedness and misery that seemed to be regarded throughout the country as matters of course."[3] This Committee's Reports were issued in 1815 and 1816, and the Commons subsequently passed a Bill for closer inspection of asylums, but it was crushingly defeated by the Lords. Again, in 1819, an Act was passed "for the better Care of Pauper Lunatics." But meagre, indeed, was the advance it records.

In 1828, however, the hands of the clock were moved on. As previously observed, Ashley's 1828 speech was delivered in support of Robert Gordon's request to introduce "a Bill to Amend the Law for the Regulation of Lunatic Asylums."[4] Gordon's petition was granted, and the main provision of his Bill transferred power "from the College of Physicians to a Board of Commissioners in Lunacy, fifteen in number."[5] The chief recommendations of this measure, though bitterly attacked in the Lords, finally passed both Houses;[6] and Shaftesbury was chosen one of the Commissioners. Later, in 1834, he was made

[1] 14 Geo. III, cap. 49.
[2] H. of L., June 24, 1819.
[3] *Life*, i. 93.
[4] H. of C., Feb. 19, 1828. In June of previous year Gordon obtained a Parliamentary Inquiry; Ashley sat as a member.
[5] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 55.
[6] 9 Geo. IV, cap. 41.

Chairman, a position which, save for one short interruption, he held till death.[1]

From now on, reform began in earnest. After his maiden speech Ashley wrote in his Diary, "Last night I ventured to speak, and, God be praised, I did not utterly disgrace myself, though the exhibition was far from glorious." With Shaftesbury as Chairman of Commissioners, the lunacy problem was constantly before the public; for abundant were the labours the "young saint" bestowed on this work. Yet never a penny did he receive for his toil. A remuneration, however, more precious than gold, awaited him; eight years before death he was able to write: "Half a century, all but one year, has been devoted to this cause of the lunatics; and through the wonderful mercy and power of God, the state now, as compared with the state *then*, would baffle, if description were attempted, any voice and any pen that were ever employed in spoken or written eloquence. *Non nobis Domine.*"[2]

What, then, are the outstanding achievements during this half century of the Earl's guidance?

Shaftesbury's two Bills, passed in 1845, have frequently been designated "the Magna Charta of the Insane." These measures, however, were preceded by years of investigation and agitation. This agitation Shaftesbury carried to the floor of the Commons in a speech on "The Treatment of Lunatics" (July 23, 1844), which moved "for an Address to the Crown, praying her Majesty to take into her consideration the Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy." In his exposition Shaftesbury explained that there were then three classes of abodes in which lunatics were lodged—private houses, public or county asylums and private asylums. The Commissioners found serious abuses still associated with each class.

In private houses there were many patients "for whom were paid not less than £500 per annum." Yet these houses were practically immune from control. Indeed, the only legal hold over them was an Act requiring an owner "to communicate under seal," to the Commission Clerk, the name of any patient who had been in his house for twelve months. "But little notice was taken of this law, and frequently it was evaded by removing

[1] *Times*, April 9, 1885, for letter of resignation. The Government fell before Shaftesbury's resignation was formally accepted, and the Bill which he opposed, having been dropped, he resumed office.

[2] *Life*, iii. 379.

the patient, after eleven months' residence, to another lodging." [1] Hence big fees and lack of supervision contrived to keep some people in " perpetual confinement," when they should have been liberated. Then, too, instances were not unknown where individuals had been " declared mad for a sum," and committed to secluded, often secret, confinement, while some solicitous " guardian " or " next of kin " relieved them of their inheritance. Indeed, Shaftesbury's investigations led him to such strong suspicion of these private houses of detention that he exclaimed: " If Providence should afflict any near relative of mine with insanity, I would consign him to an asylum in which there were other patients, and which was subjected to official visitation." [2]

The second class, public or county asylums, were far the best, but their accommodation was, in 1844, lamentably inadequate. That year England and Wales had nearly 17,000 lunatics; yet county asylums had provision for little more than 4,000, with the result that some 9,000 were detained in workhouses, prisons, etc., where they received no treatment, save misunderstanding and abuse. Indeed, so gross was the neglect that Ashley could say: " At this moment there are twenty-one counties in England and Wales without any asylum whatever, *public or private*." [3] Public asylums, however, so far as they went, had much to recommend them. They had the advantage of regular supervision, and Superintendents were placed in a position where motives to personal profit were entirely eliminated, thus removing any inducement to stint patients in the use of curative processes. Some public asylums were still in sad need of improvement, but Shaftesbury cited Wakefield, Hanwell, Lincoln, Lancaster and Gloucester as worthy of commendation for really efficient work.

The third class was a type of private asylum " which received persons who paid their own expenses and paupers." Abuses, recorded by Commissioners, in these asylums were notorious. To supplement the fees of private patients owners of such institutions would accept pauper lunatics at seven or eight shillings a head, inclusive of food and clothes. Hence, as might have been expected, these wretches were frequently consigned to outhouses, sheds, or dens; and generally they lived in conditions of extreme squalor.

[1] *Speeches*, 132.
[2] H. of C., July 23, 1844.
[3] *Speeches*, 133; or H. of C., July 23, 1844.

The Commissioners' Report exposes awful conditions. Indeed so revolting are certain scenes that they must be left to imagination. A few quotations, however, are necessary. A "Licensed house at Derby" is described as "Damp, unhealthy; bedding in a disgusting condition from running sores." Of "Wreckentox, near Gateshead," they state: "Chains attached to the floor in several places, and it was the practice to chain patients by the leg upon their first admission, in order, as it was said, to see what they would do; bedding filthy, cell offensive, also sleeping room; improved by visitation, but still unfit." [1] Describing Plympton, Devonshire, they reported: "In one of the cells in the upper court for the women, the dimensions of which were eight feet by four, and in which there was no table, and only two wooden seats fastened to the wall, we found three females confined; there was no glazing to the window, and the floor of this place was perfectly wet with urine. The two dark cells which adjoin the cell used for a day room are the sleeping places of these three unfortunate beings; two of them sleep in two cribs in one cell. The floor in the cell with the two cribs was actually reeking wet with urine, and covered with straw and filth, and one crib had a piece of old carpet by way of bedding besides the straw, but the other appeared to have had nothing but straw, without any other bedding. . . . It must be added that these two cells, and one other adjoining it, have no window and no place for light or air, except a grate over the door, which opens into a passage." [2]

More shocking pictures might easily be chosen from the Report, and Shaftesbury, who had little sympathy with the assumptions of false modesty, did not leave the Commons without accurate knowledge of abuses revealed.[3] But he exposed abuses only that he might sound a call to advance. He pled for still closer and more scientific inspection, for the erection of county asylums, for greater attention to curative means, for separation of curable and incurable patients, and particularly for a popular campaign against the causes of insanity.

To the great philanthropist, even lunatics were human beings —"majestic though in ruin"—and therefore he contended that they should be treated with consideration. But, dealing with insanity problems, as with other social reforms, Shaftesbury

[1] Quoted in Shaftesbury's 1844 Speech. [2] *Speeches*, 136.
[3] *Report of Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy* (1844); *Speeches*, 141.

studied to be *preventive* rather than curative; to stimulate social righteousness, rather than prohibit social iniquity: though, different from many modern "reformers," he was too wise to shut his eyes to the fact that these two processes cannot wholly be disassociated from one another. Hence, in his 1844 speech, Ashley pressed upon the Legislature the need of considering certain unmistakable *causes* of lunacy: "No more frequent cause of insanity exists," he exclaimed, "than is to be found in intoxication; the number of persons who are confined in lunatic asylums, and whose insanity originated in drunkenness, is very great, and will surprise any person who is not aware of the effects of this habit." Further on he added that, "he had frequently urged upon the House, and especially in his Motion upon Education, the frightful consequences of inebriety—a habit fostered among the people as much by the system of things we permitted, and the temptations to which we suffered them to be exposed, as by their own tendencies." [1]

Ten months after delivering this speech, by arrangement with Peel's Government, Shaftesbury introduced his two famous Bills of 1845, which passed into law the same year; [2] and so effective was the address by which they were introduced that all serious opposition was hushed. We cannot pause to review this long speech, dealing with the "Regulation of Lunatic Asylums" and the "Better Care and Treatment of Lunatics in England and Wales:" [3] but when Ashley concluded his argument a masterly and detailed analysis of the whole subject had been placed before the House, and the debate following rose superbly above party issues. The Commons' conscience had been touched. Its duty was clearly portrayed. And to the honour of that venerable body be it remembered that, having heard the call, it responded practically without dissent.[4]

Ashley's two Acts of 1845 grappled with almost every problem within their sphere. They amended or repealed existing laws which had proved inefficient. They compelled either the erection of county asylums, or the forming of co-operative arrangements between counties; they demanded that a certificate of insanity,

[1] *Speeches*, 141.

[2] During the months intervening Shaftesbury was preoccupied. See first part of Chap. XIV. Moreover, the Government had requested him not to press his Motion in 1844, promising support next session.

[3] *Speeches*, 169 ff.

[4] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 63.

signed by two *disinterested* doctors, should be presented, before any person was " confined " ; they modified and made *permanent* the Lunacy Commission, at the same time greatly extending the powers of Commissioners. They arranged for prompt medical treatment, and prepared the way for curative measures, including close personal care and the introduction of " case " books. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the two Acts of 1845 humanized the treatment of lunacy. They lifted the whole system out of the atmosphere of profits into that of curative effort and civic responsibility ; they separated early patients from chronic ones ; they permitted regular visitation by friends and relatives ; they arranged for the care of thousands of lunatics previously confined in prisons and workhouses ; they provided abundant opportunity for fresh air and exercise. They lifted the treatment of the insane to that position where afflicted persons were no longer looked upon as " prisoners," but as " patients." [1]

Little wonder then that, retiring from the Commons (1851), Shaftesbury, in a review of past labours, made modest reference to these Acts : " Seventeen years of labour and anxiety obtained the Lunacy Bill of 1845, and five years' increased labour since that time have carried it into operation. It has affected, I know, prodigious relief, has forced the construction of many public asylums, and greatly multiplied inspection and care." Again, addressing the Lords, 1852, Shaftesbury presented a graphic picture of progress : " The filthy and formidable prison is converted into a cleanly and cheerful abode ; the damp and gloomy courtyard is exchanged for healthy exercise and labour in the field and garden. Visit the largest asylum and you will no longer hear those frightful yells that at first terrified, and always depressed the boldest hearts. Mechanical restraint is almost unknown ; houses, where many were chained during the day, and hundreds, I will assert, during the night, have hardly a strait-waistcoat or a manacle in the whole establishment ; and instead of the keeper, with his whip and his bunch of leg locks, you will see the clergyman or the school-master engaged in their soothing and effective occupation." [2]

In the early nineteenth century Dr. Conolly testified that he had seen—" Humane English physicians daily contemplating

[1] 8 and 9 Vict., cap. 100 ; Hodder, ii. 355.
[2] Hansard, 3rd series, cxix. 1236 (March 18, 1852).

helpless insane patients bound hand and foot, and neck and waist, in illness, in pain and in the agonies of death, *without one single touch of compunction, or the slightest approach to a feeling of acting either cruelly or unwisely.* They thought it impossible to manage insane people in any other way." [1] With the passing of the Lunacy Bills of 1845, however, not only the outlook of the medical profession was changed, but the national conscience was inspired to activity.

These 1845 Acts are all-important to the understanding of lunacy reform. Yet, before leaving this subject, one or two later developments should be recalled. Watching carefully the workings of the " non-restraint " system—" the great and blessed glory of modern science," which " by the blessing of God, had achieved miracles " [2]—Shaftesbury was driven to conclude that the presence of *criminal* lunatics with others frequently interfered with the working of the humane system ; and consequently he contended that criminal lunatics should be segregated in a State asylum specially designed for them. The argument by which he enforced his contention may be read in Hansard's report of his 1852 speech in the Lords.[3] It was a convincing statement of the need for isolating vicious " patients " in a separate asylum, so that the non-restraint policy might be freed from sore impediments. Lord Derby continued this debate with a complimentary speech, promising that the subject " should not be lost sight of." [4] Nothing followed immediately ; but the State *Criminal* Asylum at Broadmoor, erected within a decade, was an indirect result.

In a public address, in 1861, Shaftesbury pleaded for the erection of a " Benevolent Asylum for the Insane of the Middle Classes." His lordship desired this to be, in every way, a model institution, which could conduct experiments in the most advantageous environment. He contended for an expert medical authority as " Chief," for careful attention to early treatment, and for organized efforts in the way of sport, concerts, open-air employment, etc. In a word, he desired a middle-class asylum which should do everything possible to provide a completely organized " internal world " as a substitute for the " external world " from which patients were removed.[5] But the guiding

[1] *Regulation of Lunatics* (1845) ; *Speeches*, 182.
[2] Hansard, 3rd series, cxix. 1236.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 1240 f.
[5] *Benevolent Asylum for Insane of Middle Classes* (1861), 7–8.

spirit of this " internal world " he believed must be peace, quiet and harmony, supplemented by such preoccupations, employments and sports as would free the mind from " the perpetual fear " engendered by agitation, competition, dissension and intoxication, all of which had proven prolific sources of insanity. Shaftesbury's purpose, in short, was to create an atmosphere conducive to sanity and healing.

The Earl's appeal was answered in princely fashion by Thomas Holloway, a wealthy merchant who, after many consultations with Shaftesbury, determined to erect just such an asylum as the philanthropist desired. This determination, moreover, was heroically translated into action, for when, in 1885, the Prince of Wales opened Holloway Sanatorium at Virginia Water, the donor had then expended £300,000 upon this project.

Finally, one other situation must be recalled. In 1877 the idea found popular expression that some persons were too hastily committed to asylums; while, also, it was contended, that discharges were too difficult. Consequently, a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the relation of Lunacy Laws and personal liberty. Shaftesbury, as Chairman of the Board of Commissioners, was carefully examined; but both he, and his laws, nobly withstood the test. After exhaustive examination, the Committee reported that "allegations of *mala fides* or of serious abuses were not substantiated." [1]

But to say that Shaftesbury and his lunacy laws were honourably acquitted would underestimate the significance of this investigation. The sanity of these laws, and their historic significance, is well illustrated by the findings of the Select Committee.[2] Commenting on the Committee's inquiry the *Journal of Mental Science* said: " We must heartily congratulate his lordship on the way in which the Act of 1845, his own handiwork, has passed through this examination. His lordship spoke with such a thorough mastery of every lunacy question about which he was asked, that his replies are the admiration of all his younger fellow-countrymen who are in any way interested in the welfare of the insane." [3]

[1] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 66: *Report of Select Committee in Lunacy Law* (1877).

[2] Another investigation was conducted in 1884, and Shaftesbury amazed the Commissioners by his familiarity with the whole lunacy problem. His defence of Lunacy Laws in H. of L., in this year, was spirited and effective.

[3] *Life*, iii. 381.

For fifty-seven years Shaftesbury was engaged in sacrificial labours for lunatics; and rich, indeed, are their fruits. Yet, during those same years, the Earl was leading movements of vastly greater consequence to human progress: so to some of these more momentous subjects we now proceed.[1]

[1] Details of lunacy question after 1845, till 1890, are dealt with by J. L. Hammond, *op. cit.*, 202–15.

CHAPTER IX

THE LODGING-HOUSE SCANDAL

SPIRITUAL realities to Shaftesbury were meat and drink of the most sustaining kind. Never did he weary in proclaiming the doctrine that men or nations would profit nothing though they gained the whole world and lost their soul. Indeed, of all his thousands of speeches, relating to all manner of social, industrial and educational problems, it is doubtful if a single one can be found in which this emphasis is not pronounced. In most it is openly, *almost monotonously*, expressed; in all it is present as a subterranean spring, nourishing his thought.

Nevertheless, this very statesman who continually preached the importance, indeed the superiority, of the spiritual world, stands out as his century's greatest guardian over what are generally considered the *material* blessings of life. Wherever Britons organized themselves to improve the health of children or the physical comfort of adults, to promote excursions and Olympian games, or to erect gymnasiums for the people, to shorten hours of labour and to provide a Saturday half-holiday; to tear down slums and build decent houses, to suppress dens of vice and open up parks or recreation grounds, to remove grimy alleys and establish broad streets, to suppress grog-shops and provide ample supplies of pure water—in a word, wherever Britons laboured to cleanse the physical atmosphere and create a decent environment, there stood Shaftesbury in their midst, a rugged pioneer, with jacket and waistcoat off, sleeves rolled up, and shoulder to the wheel. Yet, we have it on his own authority, with much reiterated emphasis, that his source of ardour for all kinds of physical reform lay in his convictions regarding the eternal reality of all spiritual life. This philanthropist persistently taught that the same God who made the souls of men made also their bodies and the physical universe

in which they live.[1] Consequently he contended that just as man's spirit must be kept pure if it would reflect the image of God, so also his body, and its environment, must be kept pure if it is to provide suitable habitation for the real ego, the soul. To Shaftesbury a polluted physical environment is as a broken harp, incapable of producing the divine music of the spirit; it is as a cloud-laden, poisoned firmament shutting out Heaven's sunshine.

But, turning from the inspiration of his physical reforms, what about the reforms themselves?

On numerous occasions before 1851, Ashley had shocked complacent M.P.'s by his revelation of certain social conditions. And now, with the delivery of his "Speech on moving to bring in a Bill to Encourage the Establishment of Lodging-houses for the Working Classes," a new shock was in store for them.[2] Shaftesbury had himself spent much time in personal investigation, and was thoroughly conversant with lodging-house conditions, particularly in the Metropolis; yet, on this occasion, he mainly enforced his argument by marshalling the findings of various official bodies. In the course of his revelations, he reminded the House that of 1,465 working-class families, reported to the Statistical Society, in 1842, as living in St. George's, Hanover Square, "one of the best parishes in London," 929 lived in one room each. But he had himself investigated London quarters where two, three, four, even five families, were existing in a single room. Modesty, therefore, was flung to the winds, all privacy was denied, and every function of nature had to be performed before vulgar eyes. "Who could wonder," asked the speaker, "that in these receptacles nine-tenths of the great crimes, the burglaries, and murders, and violence that desolated society were conceived and hatched?"[3]

Disgraceful, however, as were these workmen's "homes," *lodging-houses* were still more ghastly. A Report of the London Fever Hospital (1845) describes a particular house which accidentally forced itself upon their consideration. The Report reads: "It is filled to excess every night, but on particular occasions commonly 50, sometimes 90 to 100, men are crowded into a room 33 feet 9 inches long, 20 feet wide, and 7 feet high in the centre. . . . The whole of this dormitory does not allow

[1] Liverpool Speech, Oct. 12, 1858, before Nat. Ass. for Prom. of Soc. Sc., 9.
[2] Hansard, April 8, 1851.
[3] *Speeches*, 270.

more space, that is, does not admit of a larger bulk of air for respiration, than is appropriated in the wards of the Fever Hospital for three patients." [1] The Hospital had no small provocation for including this description in its Report, for in one year it received 130 fever patients from that room alone—one-fifth of its total for the twelve months in question.

This room, however, could boast no unique distinction. In fact it had hundreds of rivals. Some lodging-houses had no beds at all. Vermin-ridden straw, rags, shavings and paper were strewn on the floor; and there, huddled together without discrimination, lay men, women and children—some of them naked. Yet these human beings paid threepence or fourpence a night for the privilege of breathing stagnant air, of contracting or propagating disease, and, incidentally, of putting the life of lower animals to shame.[2] No charge, however, was made for the removal of battalions of crawling parasites which left the lodging each new morning with the person of some unfortunate youth, forced by ill-circumstance to seek shelter under its roof; their ranks would be recruited next evening from the bodies of the initiated.[3]

Some lodging-houses boasted the luxury of beds, but these were slightly overcrowded, for eight occupants to the bed was not unusual, all over the country. But in Leeds, lodgers must either have been extremely small of stature, or else they were uncommonly dexterous in balancing themselves on the edge of beds, and the backs of their fellows; for a social worker of that city discovered thirty-one persons in three beds.[4] Some idea of conditions in these lodging-houses, all of which were overshadowed by gin shops, from which titled brewers were drawing millions,[5] may be formed from an account furnished by Morpeth's town-clerk. Part of his description reads:

"Those that offer beds have these articles of luxury filled with as many as can possibly lie upon them. Others find berths below the beds, and then the vacant spaces on the floor are

[1] *Speeches*, 270.

[2] *Ibid.*, 272–4. Also a Shaftesbury article in *Quarterly Review*, 1847: "Lodging Houses."

[3] Besides 1851 Speech, see "Dwelling-places of Working Classes," 1846, and speeches on Public Health, 1858, 1859, 1866.

[4] "Lodging-Houses for Working Classes," *Speeches*, 274.

[5] When Evangelical Movement began its work, public-houses were swinging signs: "Drunk for 1 penny, dead drunk for 2 pence"; some even advertised "free straw" (Sydney's *England and the English in Eighteenth Century*; Lecky's *History of England*).

occupied. Among these is a tub filled with vomit and natural evacuations. Other houses have no beds, but their occupiers are packed upon the floor in rows, the head of one being close to the feet of another. . . . The occupants are entirely naked, except for rags drawn up as far as the waist; and when to this is added that the doors and windows are carefully closed, and that there is not the least distinction of sex, but men, women and children lie indiscriminately side by side, some faint idea may be formed of the state of these places, and their effect upon health, morals and decency. Fevers prevail, and the sick ward of the workhouse is filled with typhus in its worst form from these places." [1]

A London missionary reported that, the night previous to his visit, the "parlour" of a certain lodging provided sleeping accommodation for "27 male and female adults, 31 children, and two or three dogs." Yet the dimensions of this "parlour," so generously accommodating 58 human beings, to say nothing of dogs, were 18 feet by 10 feet. The same night a top room of this lodging-house, 12 feet by 10 feet, courteously extended hospitality to 32 persons. But this was by no means the only establishment carrying hospitality to excess, for the same missionary reported that in one district alone there were 270 such rooms. The report of this highly experienced worker presents a repulsive picture, but it dare not be overlooked: "These houses are never cleaned or ventilated. They literally swarm with vermin. It is almost impossible to breathe. Missionaries are seized with vomiting or fainting upon entering them." Another social worker declared: "I have felt the vermin dropping on my hat like peas. In some of the rooms I dare not sit, or I should be at once covered." [2]

It is beyond our province here to review all the evidence Shaftesbury presented to the Commons on this occasion. His case was beyond question. He argued that the filth and corruption of attics, cellars and hovels, passing for lodging-houses throughout industrial centres, were a disgrace to Britain; and further he contended that this disgrace was the greater because those conditions were within the nation's control.

Such assertions, however, were not made without experimental data to back his case. Shaftesbury and the Prince Consort were the moving spirits behind "The Society for Improving the

[1] *Speeches*, 273. [2] *Ibid.*, 270.

Condition of the Labouring Classes," and that Society had already accomplished a great work. Among its labours, it had "established model lodging-houses, loan funds, and a system of allotments of ground in different parts of the country." [1] Hence, as a result of intimate experience with this Society's experiments, the Earl was armed with first-hand information, supporting his thesis.

Among the model lodging-houses established by the aforementioned Society was one in George Street, Bloomsbury, "within a stone's throw of Church Lane." So, when the cholera plague of 1848–9 broke out in London, Ashley, as chairman of the Board of Health, being drawn into the thick of the fight, had ample opportunity of comparing ravages in different localities. Within a year "no fewer than 14,497 deaths occurred from this cause," [2] and the toll was largely collected from the working classes.[3] Yet the Model Lodging-houses were remarkably free from the pestilence. Presenting the case to Parliament, Shaftesbury drew a suggestive contrast: "The Model Lodging-house in George Street, Bloomsbury, was within a stone's throw of Church Lane. The ravages of cholera in Church Lane were dreadful; in the model buildings in George Street, Bloomsbury, not one person died, and there was only one case of diarrhœa, which speedily yielded to medical treatment." [4]

But Shaftesbury claimed for the Model Lodgings other advantages besides increased immunity from disease. True, these structures probably attracted the most thrifty and temperate class of labourer as occupants; but, in any case, his lordship contended, on behalf of the tenants, that, "the wages they earned they kept. They were not expended on medical relief or in the beer shop." Again, on personal experience, this apostle of decent housing claimed it was "impossible to go among the tenants of Model Lodging-houses without hearing the liveliest expressions of gratitude." Regular supervision maintained a sanitary standard. Cleanliness supplanted filth; play-yards were provided for children; decent privacy was

[1] Prince Consort, *Speeches and Addresses*, 88.

[2] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 131.

[3] Continental toll from cholera was incomparably greater than Britain's. The Board of Health reckoned that if the English death-rate had equalled the Continental, fatalities would have been, at least, ten times greater than they were.

[4] *Speeches*, 276.

afforded; rents were exceedingly reasonable, and an environment was created conducive to self-respect.

These Model Lodgings, in fact, stood as cultivated gardens in a wilderness of weeds; and although their purpose was humane experimentation, nevertheless, they not only were self-supporting, but actually paid a generous dividend. Indeed, this financial aspect of the problem is most illuminating, and Shaftesbury did not fail to enforce upon the Legislature its significance. The striking fact was that there had been "no increase of rent but a diminution, and with that an adequate profit."[1] This result, however, was due to the fact that instigators of Model Lodgings were satisfied with a *reasonable return* on money invested, while private landlords, who capitalized the necessity of the poor, had no scruples about extorting from *thirty to forty per cent. interest* on investments in slums.

Comparing scales of rent, Shaftesbury informed the House that "in St. George Street, Bloomsbury, every man had a compartment to himself, with a bed, chair and space for all necessary movements. For that compartment he paid 4d. a night, exactly the same payment demanded from him in the most disgusting locality. *That house yielded a clear profit of* 6 *per cent. on the money invested.* Then *houses of three rooms*, with every accommodation and a constant supply of water, were given at *a rent equal to that exacted for one room elsewhere.*"

Nevertheless, many people contended, and Parliament had taken for granted, that the housing problem ought to be left to private speculation. Against this argument the advocate of decent homes delivered a crushing blow. He protested that "private speculation" had no interest in public health or morality: its one purpose being to get the largest possible returns. Hence miserable ventilation, bad lighting, overcrowding, ugliness and indecency, were indirectly encouraged. All appreciation of health, beauty and cleanliness was crowded out of the labourer's life; while higher motives toward human development were sacrificed on the altars of avarice. "Private speculation," said Shaftesbury, "was very much confined to the construction of the smallest houses of the lowest possible description, because it was out of those the most inordinate profits could be made."[2]

This problem of extortionate profits extracted from slum

[1] *Speeches*, 277. [2] *Ibid.*, 278.

dwellings is illustrated by further comparison with the Model Lodgings; and such comparison shows that the poverty of the labouring classes, who, the Prince Consort declared, bore "most of the toil" and experienced "least of the enjoyments of this world,"[1] was being mercilessly exploited by "private speculation." Prior to Shaftesbury's 1851 address in Parliament, the Society for Improving the Condition of Labouring Classes had expended £23,000 on erecting new houses and improving old ones. Of this amount all but £2,250 was expended on the former enterprise. Yet net returns on the whole undertaking, "after deducting all incidental expenses, including those of management and repairs, averaged 6 per cent.;"[2] while profits on the *remodelled* houses, reckoned separately, were 12 per cent. What then must have been the dividend extorted by "private speculators" who exploited the misery of the poor? Fortunately the Society affords some indication: "They had kept one house as a curiosity, and as an illustration of the exorbitancy and intolerable profits levied by the low lodging-houses. It was a small house, on which the *profit was not less than* 30 *per cent.*" But from intimate experience with the whole problem, Ashley testified that, beyond all doubt, "from many of the houses much larger profit was obtained." Shaftesbury opposed Socialism and looked askance at Chartism, but from the depths of his soul he abhorred the avarice of private interests, using wealth as a lever of exploitation, to overturn the hopes and aspirations of the poor.[3]

Another anti-social condition, militating against decent housing, was a window tax to which even model lodging-houses were then subjected. This tax, in the case of the model lodging in Streatham Street alone, was between £60 and £70 a year. Such imposition was a direct attack on fresh air and sunshine, on health and sanitation. It placed a premium on squalor and disease, on darkness and filth; and for this reason Shaftesbury protested stoutly against the cruelty and misery it inflicted.[4] "Until domiciliary conditions were Christianized," he declared, "all hope of moral and social improvement was utterly vain."[5]

[1] Speech before Society for Improving Condition of Labouring Classes (May 18, 1848); *Speeches and Addresses of Prince Consort*, 87.
[2] *Speeches*, 278.
[3] *Life*, i. 222–4, 233–4; ii. 237 and 242.
[4] Window tax was repealed that same year (1851).
[5] *Speeches*, 279.

The year in which he succeeded to his Earldom, and only a few days after proposing his "Bill to Encourage the Establishment of Lodging-houses for the Working Classes," which empowered local authorities in towns of ten thousand population or over, to levy rates for building lodgings, Ashley introduced a sequel Bill for the "Registration and Inspection of Common Lodging Houses." Both Bills passed into law.[1] The former, severely mutilated in the Commons, soon became inoperative; the latter has been the cause of inestimable good, for it turned the searchlight of public inspection into these seed plots of death. Police officials and medical men have been loud in their approbation of the results of this Act. But their commendation stands not alone. Charles Dickens, always the friend of social progress, pronounced this measure, "*the best Act ever passed by an English Legislature.*"[2]

Many to-day might question the accuracy of Dickens's superlative. None would challenge the benefits accrued to society from Shaftesbury's pioneer work among lodging-houses. An article in *The Times* (May 16, 1853), when the Earl was leading a fight to provide decent housing for poor wretches turned into the street because their tenements were being torn down to make room for new thoroughfares, affords a graphic picture of our debt to this tireless apostle of sanitary housing: "To purify the inferno that reeks about us in this Metropolis, to recover its inmates, and to drive the incorrigible nucleus into more entire insulation, is one of the labours to which Lord Shaftesbury has devoted his life; and we can never be sufficiently obliged to him for undertaking a task which, besides its immediate disagreeableness, associates his name with so much that is shocking and repulsive. To Lord Shaftesbury's legislation we owe the gratifying fact that these recesses are explored by authorized persons, that houses are no longer permitted to take in more than as many as can breathe properly in them, that lodging in cellars is prohibited, that the rooms are properly cleaned and whitewashed, that ventilation, lighting and drainage are provided for, and the furniture of the houses sufficient for the authorized number of lodgers. As far as the work has proceeded, we can hardly conceive a more meritorious or more

[1] In April 1851, our subject carried these Bills through the Commons as Lord Ashley; but, owing to his father's death, on June 2nd, he also carried them through the Lords, as the Earl of Shaftesbury.

[2] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 138.

APPLICANTS FOR ADMISSION TO A CASUAL WARD

The problem of outcast humanity, which Shaftesbury made his own

(*Luke Fildes, A.R.A.*)

gratifying triumph. It is a great result out of the very worst materials. To change a city from clay to marble is nothing compared with the transformation from dirt, misery, and vice to cleanliness, comfort, and at least a decent morality."

Note.

It should not be imagined that Britain and Europe's older states were the only countries confronted with a lodging-house problem. The larger cities of the "New World" found a growing menace from this same source. More than sixty years after Shaftesbury passed his Lodging-house Bills, the writer, with five other post-graduate students of Columbia University, spent a memorable night of investigation among Bowery slums in New York City. Each of the party was dressed for the occasion. Dirty, torn clothes, ragged shirts, discarded boots, and charmingly red noses were chief features of the "make up." We entered the district early in the evening and did not leave till nearly noon, the following day. Every kind of institution, common to the vicinity, was searched out. Saloons, lodging-houses, pool rooms, gambling dens, soup kitchens, the "Free Bread Line," missions and social centres, were all penetrated. Police of the district gave us helpful advice, and some of the party were sufficiently expert in feigning intoxication to make the group pass as denizens of the community. Long after midnight we concentrated our investigation on lodging-houses, and never will the writer forget one experience. A policeman had instructed us as to where the very cheapest lodgings would be found; and having discovered the place, in we marched. All beds in the lower stories of this old building were filled; so up we tramped to the fifth flight. There, for the handsome sum of ten cents each, collected in advance, beds were assigned us. The room was about 15 feet by 90 feet, and the walls some 8 feet high; yet two small windows afforded the only means of ventilation. One was shut tightly, the other was open about an inch. The air was putrid, and fumes of alcohol augmented the stench. One centre aisle extended the entire length of the unshapely room and "bunks," two deep, one above the other, faced this only passage. Yet that one room boasted sleeping accommodation for nearly one hundred lodgers.

First of all, with the light of candles, we examined the bed clothes and mattresses on our "bunks." They were filthy, and careful inspection revealed numerous specimens of vermin crawling on the sheets. Then, to make the experiment more complete, a member of the party quietly walked to the end of the room and opened one of the two windows. A chorus of profanity challenged his initiative, and above the clatter could be heard the words: "Shut that window: What do you think this is?—a barn?"

As we tip-toed noiselessly down the aisle to make our exit, we peered slyly into the faces of those occupying the beds. Most had

the appearance of confirmed and drunken "toughs." But some were obviously the victims of misfortune. Representatives of many nationalities were there, among them bright-looking boys, fifteen to seventeen years old. When finally we reached the "office," the man in charge grunted out some protest against our dissatisfaction with the accommodation offered. But this protest meant nothing, for he was sixty cents in pocket; and before sunrise he was certain to re-rent the "bunks."

Several hours after this experience, about sunrise, we made our way to one of the famous "Mill's Hotels," situated in the heart of the Bowery and only a few minutes' walk from the lodging-house described. The rule of these hotels, located in the lowest districts of America's large cities, is that no male applicant, no matter who or what he is, shall be refused accommodation if a bedroom is vacant, providing he can pay the humble fee. In this hotel, for the magnificent sum of twenty cents each, we had excellent shower baths, plenty of hot water and soap, clean sheets, single rooms, and an abundance of fresh air; for throughout the hotel the windows are simply open spaces. Here, under the same roof with outcasts or unfortunates of all nations, we retired to rest; and a few hours later, having recuperated our strength with well-earned slumber, followed by a five-cent meal of bread and soup, we returned, in time for afternoon seminars to the very different environment of "Columbia Hill."

Within less than twenty-four hours we had seen some faint reflection of lodging-house horrors against which Shaftesbury, many years before, had blown a trumpet blast; while also we had seen an efficient demonstration of the sanitary principles for which he contended.

CHAPTER X

HEALTH, SANITATION AND RECREATION

THE day is only lately passed when certain "scientific" theorists could rival the Papal Throne in the proclamation of infallible dogmas. Recently, however, a more becoming humility is entering the minds of those who worship at the shrines of Science. So eminent a sociologist as Professor Giddings, of Columbia University, has well illustrated this new modesty. "Science cannot get on without guessing," writes Dr. Giddings, "and one of the most useful functions is to displace bad and fruitless guessing by the good guessing that ultimately leads to the demonstration of new truth. Strictly speaking all true induction *is* guessing; it is a swift, intuitive glance at a mass of facts to see if they *mean* anything: while exact scientific demonstration is a complex process of *deducting* conclusions from the induction, and then testing the deduced conclusions by the observation of more facts."[1] In this sense Shaftesbury was a scientific investigator, for all his social endeavours were preceded by *inductive* study, and he was always testing "deduced conclusions by the observation of more facts;" indeed his speeches are frequently loaded down with carefully marshalled data. But the principle directing all the inevitable "guesswork" associated with his search for "meaning," and with his demonstration of social truth, was an unwavering faith in a personal God, whose throne is based on righteousness, and whose attributes are revealed to man in the life and teaching of Jesus. Hence the compass which directed his inductive experiments and gave "meaning" to social phenomena was magnetized by his faith. Shaftesbury was convinced that man, if true to the purpose of creation, must be a steward of the Eternal, labouring for the common good. He must ever strive "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God."

[1] F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, xvi.

Indeed, the Earl believed that he was himself "called" [1] to demonstrate the practicability of ethical standards in social affairs; and the substance of his conviction is expressed in his favourite phrase, "what is morally wrong can never be politically right, and what is morally right can never be politically wrong." [2] To this apostle of orderly progress the purpose of "scientific demonstration," in politics and civics, is the inductive discovery of such social vehicles as will give truest expression to Christian ethics, which he accepted as the ideal goal. He had little sympathy with the "impartial" scientist, who stands critically in the market-place, taking no part in the buying and selling that satisfy man's needs, or with the pedant who spends his years forging out iron theories to prove the necessity of war, pestilence, slumdom and crime as checks upon over-population, thus sacrificing all intuitive moral-values to what he calls the inevitable reign of "scientific law." [3] To Shaftesbury, science should be a servant of society, not a despot over society; she should be used to give expression to ethics, not to trample over ethical values. Or, returning to Dr. Giddings's conception of scientific demonstration, moral value was to Shaftesbury the impelling force directing and giving "meaning" to all inductive process.

Nowhere was this attitude more succinctly expressed than in the Earl's fight for health, sanitation and recreation. In September 1841, Dr. Southwood Smith conducted Ashley through certain East London slums; ever after his lordship was a close observer of sanitary conditions, and a tireless advocate of sanitary reform. Slumdom, from that moment, revealed a new "meaning." His impressions of the tour are piquantly recorded: "What a perambulation I have taken to-day in company with Dr. Southwood Smith! What scenes of filth, discomfort and disease! . . . No pen or paint-brush could describe the thing as it is. One whiff of Cowyard, Blue Anchor or Baker's Court, outweighs ten pages of letter-press. . . ." [4]

[1] In 1855, considering Palmerston's pressing offer of Cabinet office, Shaftesbury wrote: "I could not satisfy myself that to accept office was a divine call; I was satisfied that God had *called* me to labour among the poor."

[2] Speech on Second Reading of Ten Hours Bill, 4.

[3] Both Malthus and Darwin were frequently so interpreted by "scientific" disciples.

[4] *Life*, i. 361.

During succeeding years much propaganda was carried on,[1] and several attempts were made at legislation; but it was not till 1848 that Morpeth carried Britain's first Public Health Bill. This measure set up a general Board of Health, endowed with somewhat bureaucratic powers; and Russell's Government requested Ashley to accept office as its only unpaid Commissioner. His Diary records eight reasons for accepting, one of which was "the immense and unparalleled value I have always attached, in public and private movement, to the sanitary question, as second only to the religious, and, in some respects, inseparable from it."[2] Shaftesbury, however, assumed the duties of this post with open eyes: "It will involve trouble, anxiety, reproach, abuse, unpopularity. I shall become a target for private assault and the public press." He knew it would be at least as thankless a job as his labours for lunatics; but, in reality, it proved even more thankless than he surmised.

Throughout the life of this national Board (1848–54), Shaftesbury laboured with industry indefatigable; and though, together with his colleagues, he subjected himself to a cyclone of criticism, he took no end of pains in accumulating information, setting up local Boards of Health, and stimulating community pride in civic welfare. Moreover, in 1849 and 1853, when cholera epidemics broke out, he and his associates, Chadwick and Smith, worked day and night to resist the plague; and the result of their efforts was by no means insignificant. Nevertheless, owing partly to Chadwick's unpopularity, partly to the professional resentment of the College of Physicians whose lethargy they challenged, partly, again, to outraged institutions whose vested interests they superseded, but not least to Englishmen's hatred of public interference, the Board of Health, on July 31, 1854, was disbanded and Shaftesbury was "turned off like a piece of lumber!"[3] A touch of stoical pathos marks the verse quoted to conclude his Diary entry regarding the dissolution of this Board:

> Nations slowly wise and meanly just
> To buried merit raise the tardy bust.[4]

[1] *Report of Poor Law Commissioners on Sanitary Condition of Labouring Population* (1842); *First Report of Commissioners for Inquiring into State of Large Towns and Populous Districts* (1844); various leaflets issued by "Health of Towns Association," of which Ashley was a leading figure.

[2] *Life*, ii. 252.

[3] *Ibid.*, 445.

[4] *Ibid.*

But it was neither in his association with the Board of Health nor yet in his struggle against the ravages of the cholera plague, that Shaftesbury registered his most abiding endeavours for health and sanitation. His greatest influence was asserted through public speeches, and through the stimulus he provided toward civic initiative, the country over. The Board of Health had run counter to national prejudice, and amidst popular rejoicing was thrown to the dogs. Even *The Times* seemed to glory in its fate, though they blamed Chadwick and Smith rather than Shaftesbury for its unpopularity. "It was a perpetual Saturday night," wrote this organ, "and Master John Bull was scrubbed and rubbed and small tooth-combed till the tears ran into his eyes, and his teeth chattered, and his fists clenched themselves with worry and pain." But, although the General Board of Health, after six years of strenuous labour,[1] was committed to death, without the shedding of any public tears, nevertheless, the cause for which it had fought lived as an unquenchable flame in Shaftesbury's soul, and never did he miss an occasion to kindle, at new altars, the fire of his own enthusiasm. During its brief life, the Board had been too radical, too autocratic to please either vested interests or popular taste; and, certainly, like other institutions, it had made mistakes. But after it was disbanded, Shaftesbury kept driving home to the conscience of the medical profession, and to local organizations, the need of vigorous efforts for health and sanitation.[2] His Speeches before the National Association for Promotion of Social Science amply illustrate this enthusiasm.

Addressing a great popular audience for this Society [3] in 1858, Shaftesbury said: "Sanitary arrangements will never be carried into full effect over the length and breadth of this land, till the head of every family . . . is fully convinced that these are principles that are essentially necessary to his domestic comfort, to his domestic purity, to his physical condition, and to his moral strength." Then, pleading for the distribution of knowledge on sanitary matters, he proceeded: "*Public opinion* alone will be sufficient to maintain these things. It is not by law, it is not by individual efforts, it is not by the desultory attempts of

[1] The Board originally was established for five years. In 1853 Parliamen granted it another year's life. In 1854 Palmerston pleaded for its continuance with limitations; but his motion was defeated by nine votes.

[2] For outline of legislative developments subsequent to dissolution of Board of Health see J. L. Hammond, *op. cit.*, 167 (footnote).

[3] Oct. 12th, St. George's Hall, Liverpool.

a few benevolent people, that these results are to be attained—they are to be attained only by the constant and vigorous exercise of wise, benevolent and instructed public opinion." [1]

On many occasions Shaftesbury expressed a conviction, bred by observation and experience, that intoxication is "both the cause and consequence" of misery. In Liverpool he strongly emphasized the latter truth: "A low moral state will bring on intemperance, and with intemperance all the dreadful catalogue of disease and crime that ever follow in the wake of intoxication. But those habits of drinking, and that system of intoxication, are exaggerated by foul air and the disgusting and depressing influence of the localities in which the people live; by a defective water supply; by the deleterious and poisonous quality of that water—all combine to drive the people to that immoral curse which we are endeavouring to correct by education, by reformatories, by ten thousand appliances." [2] Crime too, he claimed, was "invariably found to be most fertile, most abundant and most constant among ill-drained localities and closely crowded houses, and in all places where neglect and over-crowding squalor keep fostering together."

But the essence of this address is that it saddled the blame for these iniquitous conditions neither on natural law, nor on Providence; nor yet chiefly on the victims devoured, but rather on respectable society, which permitted their existence. Indeed, so pronounced was Shaftesbury's emphasis on the corporate responsibility of privileged society, that a Chartist orator might have found himself in jail for using language no stronger than his. Describing the condition of the disinherited, he exclaimed: "If you find them covered with vermin (and I must say I have gone amongst them with my friends; [3] and have returned . . . with a considerable household of vermin upon my back)—if you go and see these things *do not lay the blame upon them, but upon yourselves*. You have knowledge, you have means. They have not knowledge, they have not means; and by everything true, by everything holy, *you are your brother's keeper*." Then, emphasizing evidence derived from prolonged experience, he proceeded: "Why, I know of places, where, if vigilance is not

[1] *Op. cit.*, 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3.
[3] Mr. Jackson, a City Missionary, together with Mr. Williams and George Holland, pioneer workers in Ragged Schools, were the Earl's best guides in investigating these districts.

exercised, you may find food sold to the poor so poisonous in itself that it is alone sufficient to breed pestilence, to breed only diarrhœa and dysentery, and to decimate the population of a district." Later, spurring the consciences of complacent hearers, he reminded them that the environment to which society consigned its helpless poor was so degrading that debauchery, intoxication and crime came upon the victims, "almost by inevitable necessity." [1] But he explained that this "inevitable necessity" was created by "man's inhumanity to man": by his sins against society and God. Indeed, in a co-related address, he observed: "It is good for murmuring man to see how much of the misery that he suffers or inflicts is due to himself, and how little to the decrees of a Merciful Creator." [2]

So strong, was Shaftesbury's belief that sanitary arrangements are inextricably interwoven with moral values and education, that he asserted the impossibility of solving the latter problems without due attention to the former. Picturing a grotesquely sordid environment, he said: "I maintain that in this state of things there is an actual impossibility of giving moral education. . . . I maintain that these classes cannot be taught." His reason followed: "In the home scenes of vice the children unlearn all that is taught in the Ragged Schools." The whole range of moral and physical problems, Shaftesbury contended, had to be regarded as so many aspects of one unified subject: and "they will fall together so long as you have this horrid plague spot in the midst of you, advancing nothing but vice, violence and corruption and everything hateful to God and man." "Bad air and bad water," he urged, acted as poisonous tributaries vitiating the whole river of life.

But, in this speech, Shaftesbury fought not only for clean air, pure water, decent houses and broad streets; he waged also a valiant warfare for public parks, school gymnasiums and wholesome recreation, both for children and adults. Concerning parks and playgrounds he said: "Not only are they beneficial as open spaces, but they are greatly beneficial as having a moral effect in affording wholesome amusement, relaxation and pleasure. Depend upon it that the mind must occasionally be amused, as well as the body be cared for." Then, quoting the old proverb, "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," he clinched his argument: "Therefore there is a great advantage in reduced

[1] *Op. cit.*, 5. [2] "Public Health" (1866), 14.

hours of labour . . . in the Saturday half-holiday; and I trust and hope that Liverpool, at least, will not be backward in instituting parks and playgrounds." [1]

Some speakers court popularity by augmenting the faults of other—particularly rival—communities; while, with the next breath, they gloss over the sins of the district whose representatives they are addressing. Shaftesbury never stooped to such flattery: he knew that evils must accurately be diagnosed before they can be cured. Hence, to this Liverpool audience, as to his parliamentary constituents at Sturminster, fifteen years before, he dared to be very pointed: "I believe I can say without contradiction, that the progress of wealth in Liverpool has been the means of depriving the working men of many of their enjoyments, by converting the grounds used by them for recreation into wharves and docks. If that be the case, do not let wealth be the means of oppression to the working man; but that the greater *your* wealth and prosperity, the greater is *his* consideration. . . ." Pleading for ampler recreational facilities he observed: "I should like to see gymnasiums attached to every one of our schools, for I believe that such exercises ought to be an essential part of education"; then, playing the rôle of housewife, and demonstrating the dependence of health upon nutritious food, he added: "I should like to see every woman of the working classes have some knowledge of cookery." [2]

Recalling the vast amount of preventible mortality, Shaftesbury challenged the fatalism of the Malthusian School: "Now we may be told by some that these things are but the course of nature, and we ought not to interfere; on such we will turn our backs; we will not listen to such a representation. We may be told that these things are costly, and require financial effort, and the people are not ready to undertake the expense; but we may safely say that it is disease that is expensive, and it is health that is cheap. There is nothing so economical as justice and mercy towards all interests—temporal and spiritual—of all the human race." [3] Finally, Shaftesbury expressed the belief inspiring all his efforts for *physical* welfare: "If St. Paul, calling

[1] Liverpool Speech (1858), 8.

[2] To-day this knowledge is taught in school to all girls in Switzerland; and in some of America's foremost universities a degree in Domestic Science is on a par with one in Classics, History, Mathematics, Literature, Physics or Languages (cf. *Teachers' College Curriculum*, Columbia University, New York).

[3] *Op. cit.*, 9.

our bodies the temples of the Holy Ghost, said that they ought not to be contaminated by sin, we also say that our bodies, the temples of the Holy Ghost, ought not to be corrupted by preventible disease, degraded by avoidable filth, and disabled for His service by unnecessary suffering." [1]

To-day such teaching seems platitudinous. To the ruling classes, in 1858, it savoured of "Bolshevism."

A Bradford speech on "Public Health" delivered by Shaftesbury before the Social Science Congress in 1859 (he, at different times, was Vice-President and President of this organization), is scarcely less important than his Liverpool oration of the previous year. Emphasizing the relationship between recreation and public health, he pleaded for the multiplication of reading rooms, coffee clubs, Young Men's Christian Associations, lending libraries, public parks, harvest homes, popular excursions and Olympian games.[2] He urged, too, the necessity for special attention to the health, education and general welfare of *girls*: "Girls are sadly overlooked in our remedial and preventive systems; and yet women are the mainstay and protectors of social life." [3] But one point, now emphasized, was specially dear to the Earl's heart—the conviction that education, of a practical nature, should continue *through the whole of life*.[4] Expanding the possibilities of this suggestion, he reminded his hearers that Mr. Cassell, the publisher, had recently offered "prizes for the best essays by working men on specified subjects." Shaftesbury was chosen to judge those on "Sanitary matters and Social Economy"; his verdict reads: "Few things have ever impressed me more than the good sense, sound morality and practical knowledge exhibited by the writers." [5]

But this Bradford speech, though covering a wider ground than was traversed in Liverpool, did not fail to enforce his lordship's passion for "Public Health." Here, as on numerous other occasions, he asked: "Might not well-drained, well-ventilated, well-arranged cottages supersede a well-built, well-ordered and expensive prison house?" He pointed out that "at the very lowest estimate" there were "more than 1,000,000 attacks of illness in the year which might be avoided by greater attention to the hygiene of the poor"; [6] and although he rejoiced

[1] Concluding portion of this address is in *Speeches*, 307–8.
[2] *Op. cit.* (1859), 17 and 24.
[3] *Ibid.*, 10.
[4] "Literary Institutes for Working Men," *Speeches*, 312.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 17.
[6] *Ibid.*, 21.

that, owing to increased protection of women and augmented interest in infant well-being, the deaths of children under one year had recently been decreased by 16·3 per cent., still much remained to be done for child welfare. But specially interesting, in this address, is Shaftesbury's anxiety to improve the national *taste of the people*, and to encourage a free " exchange of ideas " with organizations in other countries. Stoutly recommending every effort for clean sport, he said : " We might improve and direct the taste of the people, and check in some measure the reviving appetite for the detestable amusements of the bull-bait and the prize-ring." Then pleading, as it were, for an international bureau of social exchange, whereby the best experience might be passed from one country to another, this apostle of good will observed : " The exchange of ideas, like the exchange of commerce, may be truly beneficial, and an evil existing in one country may be remedied by the good existing in another." Finally, anticipating the cynic's argument against such ideals, he exclaimed : " I may be told that the standard we have raised is too high, but a high standard alone will excite high efforts. We are desired earnestly to covet the best gifts ; and the very coveting alone of such things is the first step towards perfection." [1]

In 1866 Shaftesbury made another important speech before the Social Science Congress.[2] This time he dealt with the relation of public health to industrial conditions and to popular education. Picturing the late situation in the potteries as one of " utter ignorance and gross immorality with all the evils that attend on a defiance of the material and spiritual laws of nature," he contended that, even under a " partial " cure, the scene had changed. Children now exhibited the " results of mercy, consideration and love " ; and the change was " heart-stirring." [3] Moreover, although pottery youngsters were only receiving " half-time " education, they often beat whole-time pupils, and frequently they " carried off the prizes." But such achievements acted as martial music rousing the pioneer's zeal for new tasks ahead : though multitudes of women, children and young persons were now protected, he pleaded for the thousands who still were

[1] *Op. cit.*, 24.

[2] Certain publications entitled this speech " Public Health," others " Legislation on Social Subjects." Shaftesbury here referred to *Five Reports of Children's Employment Commissioners* as " that true bill of indictment against the English nation."

[3] *Op. cit.* (1866), 5.

" under the slavery of cruel and oppressive trade, and who to this hour are without the pale of legislative protection."

For Brick-yard children and those in Agricultural Gangs, Shaftesbury made a special plea. Referring to the " abomination of the brick-fields," he described many of these places as " abodes of oppression," and contended that here " the female seems to be brought to the lowest point of servile ignorance and degradation." . . . " Mothers and wives they can never be, in the high and holy sense of those words ; and yet, were they trained to decency and truth, might there not be found some to equal the priceless heroism of Lady Baker, or the Christian intellect of Mrs. Stowe ? " As for youngsters in Agricultural Gangs, their status was equally deplorable. Their education was frequently concluded at seven or eight years of age, and by the time they were sixteen they had almost forgotten " even the letters of the alphabet." What then was to be done for these little slaves of toil ? At this point Shaftesbury struck a telling blow. Referring to the recent abolition of slavery across the Atlantic, he exclaimed : " America, God be praised, has purged herself of that foul stain. Let us be as forward and as true ; and let not the young republic put the ancient monarchy to shame and confusion." [1]

But, for all his interest in education and decent conditions of labour, Shaftesbury could not address the Social Science Congress without turning to fight the primary enemies of health. Again, he emphasized the evils resulting from a " wretched water supply " and the " adulteration of food " ; but the " master-evil," he contended, " which nullifies every effort for the benefit of the working people," the curse " that embraces and intensifies all others," the " hot-bed of pauperism, immorality, disease and drunkenness," the mischief, in short, lying at the root of social corruption, and forming the " crowning abomination of the whole "—this, Shaftesbury declared to be " the domiciliary conditions of many thousands of our people." However, in rectifying these conditions, he maintained that society " must look not only to the pestilential character of the actual dwellings, but to the unventilated, fever-breeding localities in which they stand, the dark, damp and narrow alleys never ventilated by a ray of the sun or a breath of fresh air." [2] But the speaker now struck a new note on housing. Over-crowding which " disgusted every physical and moral sense," he claimed,

[1] *Op. cit.*, 7 ; also H. of L., July 11, 1871. [2] *Ibid.*, 8–9.

had a pronounced tendency *to lower the rate of wage, and yet raise the rate of rent, for the great mass of unskilled labourers*,[1] thus producing a vicious cycle of influences which militated against health and sanitation. Then, following up this declaration, he dropped a mighty bomb. Lamenting the unwillingness of capital to help in any constructive scheme of housing, and realizing that Model Lodging-House efforts could only touch the fringe of the problem, he asked if there were no immediate remedy for this condition; and, answering his own question, declared: "None that I can see, except a *new fire of London to sweep away all these filthy regions that must be destroyed to be improved*, and then a vast and liberal contribution from all sorts and sizes of men to erect the city on a basis of health and humanity."[2] Concluding, he pleaded for release from this entangled web of evil by applying the "law of kindness and of love," the law that—

> Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent.

Indeed, Shaftesbury believed that avaricious interference with this Divine Law had bred society's cruellest woes.

It is beyond our scope here to review all Shaftesbury's efforts for health and sanitation. His Chairmanship of the National Board of Health, his Presidency of the Social Science Congress and his intimate relationship with the Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes,[3] were the public offices bringing him into closest contact with this problem; but in scores of other relationships he rendered loyal service. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that in hundreds of speeches, he struck the chord of public health, and always he emphasized the physical and spiritual affinity of the problem. Hence in his *Talks with the People* we read: "How much of the sorrow, of the suffering and privation that exist in the world, is caused by the action of man upon man! How many of the evils that desolate society are remediable, and remediable by man! . . . To be sure they are. And yet when these things break out men murmur against Providence, as if Providence were wrathful,

[1] Cf. Ricardo's "Law of Wages," which permitted only the subsistence of labourers, plus the reproduction of sufficient children to fill their ranks.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 9.

[3] The Prince Consort was first President of this Society (1844). Labourers' Friendly Society, formed two years earlier, by Shaftesbury and associates, was original nucleus of S. for I.C. of L.C.

or as if God neglected the creatures He had formed. Had those men done their duty to society, and acted on the principles which ought to have governed their power, their money and themselves, they would have made the world far different from what it is, and far more in harmony with the mind of its Divine Author. At the present day, is not fever considered to be the reproach of medical science; and do not all the most learned physicians say that it is a thing that ought not to exist in a civilized community, and might be extinguished from it; and yet is not fever the curse and the destroyer of thousands and tens of thousands of our race every year?" [1]

Again, in the preface to his *Speeches*, the Earl reserved peculiar emphasis for this sanitary problem. After reviewing other branches of the social question, he exclaimed: "But it is to sanitary and domiciliary improvements . . . that the public must look for the most beneficial and lasting results; and it is to the neglect of them that it must look for the most disastrous issues, physically and morally. I trust that I shall not be regarded as speaking in too dogmatic a spirit, when I assert, after more than thirty years of anxious and constant inquiry, that the horrible state of our towns, and the condition of the dwellings of many of our people, lie *at the root of two-thirds of the disorders that afflict our land*." [2]

One other subject must be considered here. As long as appreciation of heroism endures, Florence Nightingale's memory will be enshrined in the hearts of humanity; yet were it not for a bold stroke of Shaftesbury's, the finest work of that ministering angel could never have been accomplished, and her name might have been unknown to history. It was solely on Shaftesbury's initiative, and in the face of much inertia, that the famous Sanitary Commission was hurried off to the Crimea. Yet Miss Nightingale declared: "That commission saved the British Army." [3] The singular dispatch with which the Earl conceived and organized this expedition shows the commanding genius of his mind in time of crisis, and stands in statesmanlike contrast to the official bungling, preceding his activity.

The story of disease and death that ravaged the Crimean army need not be retold here: cholera, diarrhœa and dysentery were engendered by putrid air, bad food, impure water and

[1] *Talks with People by Men of Mark*, i. 29–30.
[2] Pp. x–xi. [3] *Life*, ii. 495.

general stagnation. Inefficiency reigned so supremely that the death-rate mounted to 42 per cent.[1] The army of wealthy, industrial Britain was actually threatened with obliteration before the advance of preventible disease. Yet the origin of the Sanitary Commission, which, along with Florence Nightingale's initiative, saved the situation, was due to Shaftesbury's single-handed endeavours.

About the middle of February 1855, Dr. Hector Gavin, a Government servant, who had three years' service fighting cholera in the West Indies, called on Shaftesbury, to discuss the experiences of the late Board of Health. Conversation soon turned to the Crimea, and there and then the idea flashed on Shaftesbury's mind that an efficient Sanitary Commission could save the day.[2] No time was lost. Shaftesbury threw his whole soul into the task; and in a few days the Commission had embarked.[3] The Diary portrays the march of events. Feb. 14th was spent in personal interviews with the dignitaries of Church and State. Twenty-four hours later came a note of jubilation: "A day of success. May God be praised, and to Him be all the glory! First, efforts with the Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury, Gladstone and Palmerston, for a day of humiliation, have prospered. Most thankful was I to-day to find P.[4] not only ready, but urging, that the day should be a special day, and not a Sunday. This is very good: it looks serious and reverent. Next, Panmure has listened to my scheme for a Sanitary Commission to proceed, with full powers, to Scutari and Balaklava, there to purify the hospitals, ventilate the ships and exert all that science can do to save life where thousands are dying, not of wounds, but of dysentery and diarrhœa, the result of foul air and preventible mischiefs. Again I bless Thee, O Lord; and bring the work, we pray Thee, to a joyous issue!"[5]

Commissioners were appointed without delay. Their number comprised two doctors, one civil engineer, a chief inspector, three sub-inspectors and one assistant engineer. The scope which Shaftesbury determined should be entrusted to them is illustrated in his letter to the War Secretary, Feb. 19th: "The entire success of this undertaking will depend on the instructions

[1] Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, 141.

[2] *Life*, ii. 495.

[3] Insanitary conditions had now been accumulating several months.

[4] Lord Panmure, Secretary of State for War. On previous day Shaftesbury had not been permitted an interview with this official.

[5] *Life*, ii. 496.

given to Lord Raglan, Lord W. Powlett and other authorities, *to carry into execution without delay* whatever the Commissioners may declare to be essential to health and safety." Further on, he is equally urgent: "If, upon giving a plan, they are met with any delays, however short, sent from one department to another; their hands bound with red tape, and their shins broken by a succession of official stumbling blocks, they will be useless—indeed ridiculous. . . . We cannot in these matters trifle with time; minutes here are as valuable as years: and a pestilence might ravage the troops while a score of functionaries were writing to each other to ascertain whose business it was to attend to it. But with vigour and dispatch, very little writing, very little talking and very much action, I entertain, under God's blessing, the most sanguine hopes." [1]

Shaftesbury's vision, backed by his enthusiasm for action, carried the day; Panmure requested him, personally, to draw up "Instructions to the Commissioners." Thus, the official directions guiding the Commission were planned in Shaftesbury's mind and written by his own hand: perusal of their contents proves that his association with the much-maligned Board of Health was not in vain. Most of these "Instructions" are printed in Shaftesbury's biography.[2] Brief quotations will demonstrate their spirit: "The utmost expedition must be used in starting on your journey, on the journey itself, and in the execution of all that is necessary at the place of your destination. Hours even, at this crisis, are of incalculable importance." Instantly, upon arrival, the Commissioners were ordered to communicate with military officials and request full powers of entry into every hospital, infirmary, or receptacle of whatever kind for the sick and wounded, "ashore or afloat." Moreover, they were commissioned to call to their aid, "whether as witnesses or guides, any officials or attendants" they might require. But as regards interference, Shaftesbury was explicit. "You will *not* interfere, in any way, with the medical and surgical treatment of patients, nor with the regulations prescribed to the nurses and attendants." Finally, after surveying the task, the "Instructions" read: "It is your duty, in short, to state fully, and to urge strongly, for adoption by the authorities, everything that you believe will tend to the preservation of health and life. You are empowered to institute, both at Scutari and at the camp,

[1] *Life*, ii. 497. [2] *Ibid.*, 497–500.

such systems of organization for sanitary purposes as may be considered essential to carry your plans into effect." [1]

Shaftesbury's "Instructions," issued by the War Department, were, however, supplemented by a vigorous letter from Palmerston, who had just become Prime Minister, to Raglan; and how thoroughly "the lay doctor" had converted Palmerston may be judged from that letter. Requesting every assistance for the Commissioners, the Prime Minister continued: "They will, of course, be opposed and thwarted by the medical officers, by the men who have charge of the port arrangements, and by those who have the cleaning of the camp. Their mission will be ridiculed, and their recommendations and directions set aside, unless enforced by the peremptory exercise of your authority. But that authority I must request you to exert *in the most peremptory manner*, for the *immediate and exact* carrying into execution whatever changes of arrangement they may recommend; for these are matters on which depend the health and lives of many hundreds of men, I may indeed say, of thousands." [2]

Although Shaftesbury was father of the Sanitary Commission, he blew no trumpet about his work. Indeed, so little did he enter the limelight that many a person who has eulogized this Commission, and praised the heroism of Florence Nightingale, has never known that Shaftesbury was the creative spirit behind the sanitary renovations, that brought success to Miss Nightingale's crusade.

The great nurse herself, however, laboured under no delusions. As previously observed, she claimed that Shaftesbury's Commission "saved the British Army." Moreover, in a letter to his lordship, October 16, 1858, she enclosed a copy of her "Report to the War Office upon army sanitary matters." This Report, being confidential, was *not* presented to the Commons. "But," wrote Miss Nightingale, "as Lord Shaftesbury has, for so many years, been our leader in sanitary matters (as in so many other wise and benevolent things) it seemed to me but right to send him a Report which contains so much of what was done by himself, viz. the work of the Sanitary Commission in the East." [3]

In ways innumerable, Shaftesbury made his influence for health, sanitation and recreation felt throughout the Kingdom,

[1] *Life*, ii. 499. [2] *Ibid.*, 500.

[3] In L. Strachey's picture of Florence Nightingale's work, no reference is made to Shaftesbury's endeavours. Indeed, the Earl's name is not even mentioned in this essay.

and even beyond its bounds. From the origin of the Y.M.C.A. (1846) till his death he was President of that body, and heartily supported its social and athletic, as well as its religious and educational, endeavours. As moving spirit behind the Society for Improving the Condition of Labouring Classes, he anticipated the whole movement for better housing, including Garden Suburb schemes. His chairmanship of the Board of Health and his presidency of the Social Science Congress, mark contributions to national progress. In 1861, following an Indian famine, he pressed upon the Government the duty of preventing the recurrence of such catastrophies, by providing a comprehensive scheme of Indian irrigation; while again, in 1884, he was *first* witness before the Royal Commission on Housing.

But great as were Shaftesbury's direct labours for health and recreation, it was generally indirectly that he scored. No statesman of his century made so many popular speeches as "the People's Earl"; yet all were delivered for a definite purpose—the development of national health: physical, mental, moral. Shaftesbury was the man who freed little children from a slavery of toil, breeding deformity and disease; he was leader of the movement to procure a Saturday half-holiday for all workers; he was supreme figure in the crusade for the Ten Hours Bill; he was arch-defender of the Sabbath as a day of rest and meditation, and in the face of much ridicule, and not a little contempt, he protected it against the encroachments of mercenary interests which, engaged in a mad race for wealth, showed little consideration for God or man; yet his zeal for the welfare of his less-privileged countrymen was not limited to these endeavours: he laboured for the establishment of institutes and lending-libraries for working men, he made war on trashy, sensual journalism, and espoused the cause of clean literature, including fiction; he laboured mightily in the cause of broad streets, scientific ventilation, and efficient drainage: while in and out of season, he sounded a clarion call for the establishment of parks, gymnasiums and playgrounds for Britain's working population, whom he described as the "finest material God ever made."

CHAPTER XI

THE PROBLEM OF POPULAR EDUCATION

IN a "gracefully satirical" treatment of Shaftesbury's religion, Mr. J. L. Hammond draws a dramatic contrast between what he pictures as the enlightened vision of humanitarian atheists and the shrinking timidity of Shaftesbury. After quoting Masefield,

> Life makes us neither Red nor White, but men
> Self-bound in hell. Let *wisdom* free us then,

Mr. Hammond, who sets up Lovett, the Chartist leader, as the ideal incarnation of the rationalist school, concludes his contrast in these words: "But whereas Lovett turned to the broad daylight, believing, with Diderot and Godwin, and the race of resolute eighteenth-century optimists: that science would make the world free and just and humane, Shaftesbury found that emancipating wisdom in the pious and dutiful twilight of the Ragged Schools." [1]

This epigram is well-balanced, but a more misleading representation of Shaftesbury's religious outlook, and of his attitude toward education, it would be difficult to imagine.

True, Shaftesbury was opposed to a *purely secularized* policy of national education; but this does not mean that he was opposed to *all* national education. The fact is, his whole life was associated with educational schemes; for he hated ignorance with a perfect hatred, as the enemy of God and man. No person of his day believed more strongly in "enlightened public opinion." The phrase was continually on his lips, and expressed the yearning of his soul; but he had no faith whatever in "enlightened selfishness." [2] Indeed, his whole career was

[1] *Lord Shaftesbury*, 260.

[2] The "intellectual" doctrine of "enlightened self-interest" was responsible for many of the evils against which Shaftesbury threw himself. Hence it could scarcely be called blind fanaticism that made him suspicious of education divorced from religion—of "science" rebelling against God.

directed toward the removal of social iniquities and the establishment of social righteousness. Never did any Englishman believe more strongly in the social duty of bringing every human blessing to cheer and uplift the homes and environment of the humblest populace. To Shaftesbury, as to every true Evanlical, the "downmost man" was an individual made in the image of God; a creature of infinite worth, for whose sake Christ died.

> The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> The man's the "gold" for a' that.

Hence Shaftesbury's opposition to "secularization" was not due to the fact that he loved education less than others, but that he loved religion more. He always advocated the development of the whole personality, and for him the whole personality meant more than isolated mind. It meant the blending of all physical, mental, spiritual and social propensities.[1] Shaftesbury feared that secular education, divorced from religion, would deify the mental, crucify the spiritual and deny the social, while, simultaneously, it would utilize the physical for selfish, if not brutal, ends; and this apprehension was scarcely the child of superstition or prejudice: for the popular "intellectual interpretation" of *laissez-faire* had tended in this very direction; and what man of his century had tasted more of the poisoned fruit which this "intellectual," but godless, theory had borne? Consequently it was because of this fear that his speeches, particularly those to young men, carried so many warnings against the dangers of "mere intellectualism." He realized that men could become intoxicated on other things besides alcohol; and one such danger was "knowledge that *puffeth* up," in isolation from "love that *buildeth* up"[2]—brilliance divorced from character.

It is well known that Lord Althorp's famous Factory Act (1833) was a forced measure passed to shelve Ashley's more comprehensive programme. Althorp's purpose was to administer the irreducible minimum of concession as an opiate to popular conscience, and as a check to Ashley's campaign for greater working-class privileges.[3] Nevertheless, in addition to factory

[1] This point is emphasized in scores of Shaftesbury's printed Speeches. It is suggested by the Gospel narrative: "And the child Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man" (St. Luke, ii. 52).

[2] 1 Cor. viii. 1.

[3] Preface to *Speeches*, v.

inspection, this Act contained a clause demanding that protected children be provided with at least two hours' schooling a day. But no ample provisions were made for enforcing this clause, and in time it became apparent that the enactment was either disregarded or treated as a joke. Shaftesbury, however, was too firm a friend of education to allow even this forced measure to be trampled under foot. Repeatedly he drew attention to violations, and in a speech before the Commons, 1838, he squarely charged the Government with winking at them.[1] The educational clauses, he contended, " had been set at naught in almost every factory in the country " ; and he asked : " Had the Government been left in ignorance of the operation of their own bill ? " [2] Further on, he asserted that " it was universally confessed " these clauses were " not observed in one mill out of fifty, and where they were observed ' the schooling given is a mere mockery of education.' " [3]

Ashley, on this occasion, minced no words ; putting the problem straight to the Leader of Government, he asked : " Would the noble lord opposite venture to say that the education of the manufacturing classes was a matter of indifference to the country at large ? " He made it abundantly plain that prevailing laws for the protection and education of factory children fell far short of his own standards : but he demanded of the Government that they should at least have the decency to enforce existing statutes, making certain that educational provisions were no longer treated as a farce.[4]

On many occasions Shaftesbury ridiculed " wise statesmen " who considered *popular ignorance* the friend of tranquillity, and who feared the knowledge of reading and writing among " common people " as the foe to public peace. When a London newspaper was warning its readers " that no better scheme for the destruction of Empire could have been devised by the author of evil himself " than Mechanics' Institutes,[5] Shaftesbury was working, heart and soul, for the development of these

[1] " Children in Factories," 4.

[2] In certain factories which made a pretence of complying with education clauses, almost any persons who happened to be unemployed were set to teaching. Some " teachers " were almost as ignorant as their pupils.

[3] Ashley's quotation is from Horner's Report. Horner was a factory inspector of initiative and ability.

[4] During the progress of this speech Russell denied Shaftesbury's charge that the Government was winking at violations ; but Shaftesbury proved his case from the mouths of the Government's own inspectors.

[5] C. J. Montague, *Sixty Years in Waifdom*, 183–4.

institutions; and in "opening addresses" was advising workmen to make full use of the libraries, to spend a large percentage of leisure time in study, and to carry their education through "the whole of life." His "Reply to the Lancashire Short Time Committee," in 1842, before any national scheme of education had yet been carried into operation, gives terse expression to the educational philosophy directing his reforms: "Over a large surface of the industrial community man has been regarded as an *animal*,[1] and that, an animal not of the highest order; his loftiest faculties when not prostrate, are perverted, and his lowest, exclusively devoted to the manufacture of wealth. Women and children follow in the train of ceaseless toil and degrading occupation, and thus we have before us a mighty multitude of *feeble bodies and untaught minds, the perilous materials of present and future pauperism, of violence and infidelity.*"[2] To remedy these evils, Shaftesbury fought for shorter working hours, decent sanitation, comfortable houses, wholesome recreation and better conditions generally; but all such reforms, he contended, must be correlated to the major duty of providing "*opportunities of moral and religious education*" for the labouring multitude. That to Shaftesbury was the keystone of social progress. Hence, referring to this primary duty, he said: "This must be our principal, our only indispensable object. But in order that the children be rightly instructed, they must have *leisure both to learn and to practise the lessons of the school.* We must keep before our eyes the undeniable but ill-considered fact, that every child in these districts is an immortal being; and that *another generation, neglected like the present, and left in ignorance and sin, will probably witness the final extinction of the British Empire.*"[3]

These are scarcely the words of a man preferring the "pious and dutiful twilight" of semi-ignorance to the splendour of noon-day light. In fact the difference between Shaftesbury and many an educational critic who considered him "narrow," "bigoted" and "reactionary," was that while the latter concentrated only on educating the mind, the former insisted on educating the entire personality: all the while emphasizing that true education should continue *through the whole of life.*

[1] The origin of "hand" for employee, is contemporaneous with the early developments of our Industrial Era.

[2] "Reply to Lancashire Short Time Committee" (Sept. 26, 1842), 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 3.

Shaftesbury believed what many a teacher has come to learn —that schools can do little but point the way to the broad fields of education. He saw that life itself was the great educator; and he was convinced, from experience, that if schools provided a moral and religious outlook, together with so-called secular knowledge, they would, by so doing, create the teachable spirit and provide the stimulus, enabling pupils to remain students all their lives.[1]

In a closely reasoned but highly impassioned speech on the Education of Working Classes, delivered in the Commons, February 1843, Shaftesbury left no doubt as to his hatred of ignorance and his faith in well-balanced education. But also he demonstrated that the country's most immediate need was a universal system of "moral and religious education," as the most effective instrument of freedom from drunkenness and vice which vitiated society. To contend that "education will do everything," he admitted, "is absurd": but to argue "'it will do nothing,' is more so." He quoted the words of John Locke: "I think I may say that of all the men we meet with, nine parts in ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great difference in mankind."[2] Then, reminding the House that people living under free, liberal institutions stand in greater need of "enlightenment and self-control" than those under "despotic monarchies"; and paying tribute to the "vast and meritorious" educational efforts of both the National Society and Dissenting Bodies, he exclaimed: "But in spite of all that has been done, a tremendous waste still remains uncultivated, 'a great and terrible wilderness,' that I shall now endeavour to lay open before you."

In the long address that followed, Shaftesbury more than achieved his purpose. It is impossible that this speech, packed with statistics and quotations, could have been delivered in less than two hours: but, by the time the speaker sat down, he had indeed led his fellow-legislators over a "tremendous, uncultivated waste," and had introduced to them "a fearful multitude of untutored savages," living not in the jungles of Africa, but in

[1] Careful study of Shaftesbury's many references to education shows that he anticipated many principles laid down by such eminent authorities as Professors Dewey and Thorndike of Columbia University, New York. Shaftesbury, however, derived his conclusions not from "scientific" experiment, but from religious faith and practical experience.

[2] *Speeches*, 63.

Britain—a nation claiming dominion over the seven seas, whose industrial inventions were the wonder of civilized nations, and whose commerce had a market among all peoples of the world. By a process of elimination Shaftesbury demonstrated to the Commons, from tables published in 1833, that over one million children of school age in Britain were receiving no daily instruction whatever; and he asserted, from personal knowledge, that among schools in use some were "more fitted to be sties or coal holes."

But, while ignorance reigned in tyranny over this army of children, public-houses, brothels and beer-shops gloated over their spoil; indeed, while society was denying to this host of juvenile outcasts the schools which should have developed vision, ability and self-control, these "guardians of iniquity" were doing a flourishing business in their academies of drunkenness, prostitution and crime. Shaftesbury quoted police statistics, and conversations with city officials, proving that drunkenness, even among children and young people, was common; and that many beer-shops and ale-houses actually ran rooms for prostitution, encouraging youngsters of fourteen or fifteen to frequent them.[1] The worst evidence presented is too awful for print. Some idea, however, of prevailing conditions in notorious quarters may be gleaned from the report of Mr. Rayner, Sheffield's superintendent of police: "Lads from 12 to 14 years of age constantly frequent beer-houses, and have, even at that age, their girls with them, who often incite them to commit petty thefts . . . vices of every description at a very early age . . . great numbers of vagrant children prowling about the streets. . . . The habits of the adults confirm the children in their vices."[2]

Proceeding with his case, Shaftesbury piled evidence high. In the worst quarters illegitimacy, drunkenness and vice were alarmingly common even among youths; and whereas the minds of many children were "as stunted as their bodies," their moral feelings were dormant or dead. In certain districts bastardy was not uncommon among girls of fifteen; in Wolverhampton children, when questioned, expressed belief that Pontius Pilate and Goliath were apostles: in Willenhall many youngsters did "not display the remotest sign of comprehension as to what is meant by the term of morals"; while

[1] *Speeches*, 67–8. [2] *Ibid.*, 68.

in Darlaston the evidence of overseer, collector and relieving officer proved that no inconsiderable portion of the populace lived in "utter recklessness and intellectual apathy." These officials all agreed "that there are as many as a hundred men in Darlaston who do not know their own names, only their nicknames." [1] Certain other districts were equally bad. Conditions in some Welsh mining regions showed that "not one collier boy in ten can read, so as to comprehend what he reads." In one area youths were found who had never heard of France, Ireland or Scotland, and who did not know what America was. Others had never heard of Christ, and had heard the name of God only in oaths.

For this address Shaftesbury collected evidence from sources in all parts of the country, but the tenor of his conclusions was summed up in the words of a clergyman: "The country will be inevitably ruined unless some steps are taken by the Legislature to secure education to the children of the working classes." The great champion of Britain's outcasts believed that these shocking conditions were the outcome of national carelessness, and he pronounced them "utterly disgraceful to the character of a Christian country." Shaftesbury had little faith in Chartism; but he had pronounced sympathy with people who, groaning under an intolerable load of ignorance and oppression, strove to register their protest against society's injustice through the instrumentality of the People's Charter. Hence he availed himself of a Chartist orator's words to demonstrate the responsibility of privileged citizens: "The prevalence of intemperance and other vicious habits was the fault of the aristocracy and mill-owners, who had neglected to provide the people with sufficient *means of moral improvement*, and would form an item of that great account which they would one day be called upon to render to a people indignant at the discovery of their own debasement." [2]

The Chartist orator here put his finger on the cardinal article of Shaftesbury's social creed. To this great reformer the social problem was ever an ethical problem; and he believed that an ethical policy could alone provide the key to its solution. Reading, writing and arithmetic were all necessary, as were many other secular subjects; but these could not, in themselves, bring release from moral corruption, or provide

[1] *Speeches*, 72. [2] *Ibid.*, 73.

the dynamic for righteousness. They could at best serve only as the body through which spiritual-ethical values might express themselves; they never could substitute for moral truth, which to Shaftesbury was the soul of life, and, as such, was inextricably associated with the religious sense—the be-all and end-all of existence. Therefore, seeing social ills more clearly than any other man of his century, he cried out for redemption through moral and religious education. He longed to see England clean, just and honourable; and he knew that this longing was bred not by his classical education,[1] or by secular knowledge, but by his religious sense of righteousness, derived from Christ's emphasis on the "sanctity of personality over all material wealth."[2] He knew the source of his own strength, and with missionary zeal he strove to pass it on to society.

But there was another reason why Shaftesbury staked his faith in ethical-religious, rather than purely secular, education, as the great emancipator; and that reason was sound. Long before 1843 he had learned, by sad experience, that secular learning had little power to suppress *selfishness*: it might varnish it over, but it could do little to subdue it. The bitterest enemies whom Shaftesbury had to fight were not ignorant men: many of them, like himself, could boast first-class honours at Oxford as well as the variegated knowledge which comes from extensive travel; but not infrequently these "educated" gentlemen lacked the one thing most needful to social righteousness—the pulse of human brotherhood, inspiring responsibility toward less privileged humanity. Shaftesbury's religion provided him with a social conscience and a keen sense of ethical values; the education of many a financial magnate or legal hireling against whom he was forced to fight, equipped him with nothing more humane than an instrument of self-defence or a sword of class aggression. Thus, Shaftesbury's belief that education, before it can become an instrument of emancipation, must be tempered by religious motives, was largely derived from personal experience and prolonged observation in public life.

[1] No Oxford man of his day carried away fewer of the marks of his *alma mater* than Shaftesbury.

[2] Wesley, Shaftesbury's hero, never wearied in proclaiming this doctrine; and the emphasis which Evangelicals placed upon it greatly irritated smart society.

His 1843 speech, however, further emphasized such convictions. Providing the House with still more information regarding conditions among the uncared-for population, he added: "And then when disaffection stalks abroad, we are alarmed, and cry out that we are fallen upon evil times, and so we are; but it is *not because poverty is always seditious, but because wealth is too frequently oppressive.*"[1] This oppression of the poor by privileged people, Shaftesbury believed was largely responsible for society's debauchery and crime; hence he reminded Members, some of whom could think best in terms of money, that "for the expense of a single convict, we might, during the space of twelve months, give moral and religious education to 117 persons." Shaftesbury was not lacking in a conservative sense of the value of Law; but he ridiculed the idea that social evils can be remedied by mere inhibitions: "You must draw from the great depository of truth all that can create and refine a sound *public opinion*—all that can institute and diffuse among the people the feelings and practices of morality."[2] "The mind of man is as much affected by moral epidemics as his body by disorders";[3] and those epidemics, he contended, could only be cured by ethical means. Education, therefore, he demanded, as the remedy; and he prayed the House that no time be lost in applying it: "Every year of delay abstracts from us thousands of useful fellow-citizens; nay, rather adds them to the ranks of viciousness, of misery and of disorder."

In a rousing conclusion, Shaftesbury, after appealing to his compatriots for "kindlier language and more frequent intercourse" with the labouring poor, exclaimed: "We owe to the poor of our land a mighty debt. We call them improvident and immoral, and many of them are so: but that improvidence and that immorality are the results, in a great measure, *of our neglect and not a little of our example.*"

Tremendous enthusiasm was created by this speech, both in Parliament and throughout the country; and Shaftesbury's Diary, on succeeding days, rings with jubilation. Part of his entry, March 1, reads: "Last night brought forward my

[1] *Speeches*, 83.

[2] Élie Halévy (*Religion and Culture*) claims the Evangelical Movement was chiefly responsible for producing the self-control, the sobriety, the ethical outlook, which made possible the unparalleled series of social reforms in nineteenth-century Britain (*op. cit.*, Book III).

[3] *Speeches*, 84.

motion on National Education. Whatever I received from the goodness, grace and mercy of God, when I introduced the Colliery Bill, I received in tenfold measure here. Hearts were prepared, opportunities furnished, success vouchsafed. The unanimity was wonderful; the feeling of the House still more so; it presented the spectacle of a Christian Assembly, invested with mighty power for Christian objects. Could this have been effected a few years ago? Such a speech would have been heard with cool indifference or shouts of derision!" [1] Shaftesbury's rejoicing was premature. He had not presumed to dictate the exact form which an Education Bill should take, and the measure brought forward, eight days later, by Sir James Graham succeeded in rousing the wrath of Dissenters all over the country. According to the Government's Factory Education Bill, schools "were each to be under the care of a clergyman, two Churchwardens, and four elective trustees." Dissenters, consequently, believed that the whole scheme would be dominated by the Establishment, and that their own educational institutions, for which they had sacrificed much, would be jeopardized. Tragedy resulted. The Bill was defeated by discord and suspicion among its friends. Rivalry between Church and Dissent fanned the fires of friction; and in the heated discussions following, even the Sunday School Union,[2] a body second to none in enthusiasm for popular education, opposed the measure. Its fate, accordingly, was sealed: Parliament received protesting petitions, bearing nearly two million signatures. Shaftesbury's Diary records his disappointment, and also his sympathy with "those miserable thousands" robbed of "physical and moral regeneration"; but he adds: "I am not disheartened." A letter from the Prime Minister, referring to this defeat, states: "It is but a sorry and lamentable triumph that Dissent has achieved." Shaftesbury was better acquainted with the Dissenting mind than Peel; therefore his comment was guarded and tolerant. In reply to this letter, he wrote: "Wherever the fault lay, one thing was clear—that the really suffering parties were the vast body of neglected children who, as present appearances went, were now consigned to an eternity of ignorance." [3]

Turning again to his Diary, entries two years later provide a

[1] Hodder, i. 455.
[2] Montague, *op. cit.*, 180.
[3] Hodder, i. 452–62.

clear picture of the difficulties confronting Shaftesbury's aspirations for national education. It was religion which bred his yearning for popular education; also it was religious impulse which had given birth to the vast system of Sunday Schools, Charity Schools and such other organizations for free education as England could then boast: but in this process of development vested interests had been established, and now the country was confronted with suspicions and misunderstandings, acting as a barrier to national education. The Diary, September 12, 1845, helps us to appreciate conditions:

"Turning over in my mind some scheme of *general education*, such, at least, as may bring the vast mass of the juvenile population within the 'reading of the Bible'; it is sad to see, and quite awful to consider, the vast multitude of immortal creatures who live and die without ever hearing, except in an oath, the name of Christ. This everyone admits, deplores and leaves unredressed. The more I think, the more I am embarrassed and perplexed; the Church on one side, which ought to be respected; the Dissenters on the other, who will make themselves heard, seem to present insurmountable difficulties; and meanwhile the people perisheth!"[1]

"Meanwhile the people perisheth!" Shaftesbury's phrase was apt. The year previous, the Education Committee of the Privy Council had, in their bounty, granted a total of £40,000 to the voluntary schools of the National, and the British and Foreign Societies, the only recognized institutions, save Sunday and Charity Schools, representing public education throughout the country; yet the "Budget" for that year totalled £55,000,000: and the Government grant to the Royal Stables was £30,000 in excess of all monies allotted by the Legislature to National Education.[2]

In 1847 Lord John Russell introduced his famous Education Bill, proposing a grant of £100,000 to National Education; and Shaftesbury undertook the task of winning united support. The Wesleyan Church now had great school interests throughout the country, and its support was essential to success. Ashley conducted his delicate task as mediator with great tact; and his efforts were successful. The Diary tells the story of developments: "April 1st—Much engaged in endeavouring to bring the Wesleyan body to accept and support new scheme of

[1] Hodder, ii. 114.

[2] Montague, *op. cit.*, 179.

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education." [1] Six days later Russell wrote Shaftesbury expressing gratitude: "Your exertions to induce the Wesleyans to accept our Minutes, will, I trust, be successful. But at all events I cannot refrain from expressing the obligations which I feel to you for your very active and judicious endeavours to obtain the support of that most valuable body to our Minutes." By April 15th, Ashley's intercessions had won the day. In his jottings for that date we read: "All is well! The Wesleyans have accepted the Minutes. May God prosper the issue! Took chair in evening yesterday of great education meeting in Freemasons' Hall. Very enthusiastic, very successful, everything prospered." His entry eight days later shows complete victory, and he may be pardoned if a little egotism is mingled with his joy: "A victory last night on the Education Minutes of 345, forty-seven only voting against it! I am truly thankful. May the measure be prospered to the advancement of true religion! Now where would the Government have been had the Wesleyans joined the Dissenters? Their union would have damped the ardour of the Church, and all would have been in confusion." [2]

It is beyond our purpose here even to review the educational developments culminating in Forster's Board School Act (1870). Volumes have been written on this subject, and much yet remains to be said. In 1839 the Government grant toward public education was only £30,000; by 1861 it had risen to £813,400: and although the "Revised Code" of the Newcastle Commission, which provided State help in proportion to "educational results," reduced the National grant, in 1865, to £636,800, it nevertheless had the salutary effect of compelling less efficient schools to toe the line. Then too, in 1856, an education minister, responsible to Parliament, was appointed; and the whole problem began to appear in truer perspective.[3]

In this remarkable movement toward National Education, with all the compromises involved, Shaftesbury, as may well be surmised, from his convictions regarding the necessity of religious and moral instruction, played no leading rôle. Sir John Pakington and W. E. Forster were the outstanding leaders in this struggle. Yet, indirectly, Shaftesbury rendered tremendous service to their cause. He it was who, more than any other

[1] Hodder, ii. 214.
[2] *Ibid.*, 215.
[3] "Education" (England), *Ency. Brit.*

person, created public sympathy for down-trodden children; he it was who emphasized the sanctity of their personality, and pled their case before the bar of public conscience: he also it was who led his country to see the shame of juvenile serfdom and to realize that in the healthy character and education of children lay the one hope of Britain's to-morrow. In the whole *purpose* of their programme for social betterment through education, Shaftesbury stood shoulder to shoulder with Pakington and Forster, both of whom he honoured as noble men; it was in the *method of accomplishment* that he, at times, found himself suspicious of their schemes. He feared that, in process of compromise, all vital religious teaching would be whittled away; and, as for ethical education, that nothing but the husk would be left. Thus, in 1855, after paying high tribute to his "honest and kind friend Pakington," his lordship expressed the fear that this good gentleman's local rate plan for national education "had better be called 'a water rate to extinguish religious fire among the people.'" [1]

An examination of controversies raging around the problem of National Education, between 1847 and 1870, will show that although Shaftesbury's fears were too pronounced, they were by no means divorced from facts: for it certainly is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the tendency of centralization and State control was to minimize the function of religious instruction. Indeed, during this period certain organizations sprang up which agitated hotly for purely secular education, divorced from all semblance of religious influence. Chief of these was the Education League with headquarters at Birmingham, the institution Shaftesbury had in mind when he said: "I, for one, will accept and believe the syllabus of Rome in preference to the syllabus of Birmingham." [2] In fact it was only in concession to what they discovered was popular feeling that this League would even hear of Bible reading, without note or comment, in State schools. Then, too, a survey of Forster's Bill compels the conclusion that national education was purchased at no small price to religion. The compromises and concessions heralding the Bill tended either to push religion off the stage or to give

[1] Hodder, ii. 522. Shaftesbury's dread of *complete secularization* is well expressed in another pasaage: "Our nature is nothing, the heart is nothing, in the estimation of these zealots of secular knowledge. Everything for the flesh, and nothing for the soul; everything for time, and nothing for eternity . . ." (Hodder, iii. 266).

[2] *Ibid.*, 340.

it an obscure and silent rôle in Board School life. True, Forster was no foe of religion, and he was a warm friend of Shaftesbury; but what with the demands of pure secularists on the one hand, and the disunion and semi-suspicion of denominational bodies on the other, it was inevitable that little provision should be made for spiritual development in Board Schools.

Hence the 1870 Bill, as passed, was not what Gladstone, the Prime Minister, wanted: it certainly was not what Shaftesbury wanted, and it is doubtful if it fulfilled the desires of Forster himself.[1] The marks of compromise were branded on its face; but in Forster's words, it was designed to "complete the voluntary system and fill up gaps." Its purpose, accordingly, was not to supplant, but to supplement the existing schools. Nevertheless, the Bill contained a conscience clause which permitted "*complete exemption from all religious instruction and observation whatever*." It stipulated that there should be *no inspection of religious tuition*, and that *no public grant* should be given towards this subject.[2] It is obvious then that such a measure could provide little stimulus toward the inculcation of religious motives into children's minds. It did, however, "fill up the gaps," and for this reason Shaftesbury did not oppose it, though he greatly lamented its aloofness from what he considered the highest ideals of life.[3]

The difficulties and entanglements of the situation may be judged by a letter from Gladstone to Shaftesbury, June 17, 1870. It was, of course, natural that the Prime Minister should desire to present his Government's Bill in its most favourable light; but there is no reason for doubting the veracity of Gladstone's words: "The plan we have adopted is by no means, in all its main particulars, the one most agreeable to my individual predilections. But I have given it a deliberate assent, as a measure due to the desires and convictions of the country,

[1] Letters from Forster and Gladstone to Shaftesbury, Hodder, iii. 266–7.

[2] "Education" (England), *Ency. Brit.*

[3] Shaftesbury's speech in the Guildhall, on the eightieth anniversary of his birthday, made an interesting contrast between Board and Ragged Schools: "Although the School Board seriously limited at first our operations, I do not speak with disrespect of it, as *I believe its institution was a real necessity*. The various members of the Board carry out their arduous work with great zeal and ability, and I am able to say *we understand each other much better now*. We have different spheres. If we cannot ascend to their height, they cannot descend to our depth, and be assured there are terrible depths yet to be fathomed of ignorance and misery."

and as one rendering much honour and scope to religion,[1] without giving fair ground of objection to those who are so fearful that the State should become entangled in theological controversy." [2]

Again, in considering this problem of national education, it is important that the efforts of voluntary organizations be given careful attention.[3] With our modern enthusiasm for State Education it is difficult to appreciate the tremendous service which voluntary organizations, mostly religious, rendered the nation. It is so easy, for instance, to point to 1839, when the national grant towards education was only £30,000, and then to 1876, when it had risen to the comparatively colossal figure of £1,600,000; and finally to draw the deduction that in this period national interest in education had increased fifty-three fold. Such a conclusion, however, is ridiculous. That State patronage had increased fifty-three fold in thirty-seven years is correct; but that is vastly different from saying that national education had increased in the same ratio.

The Newcastle Commission on Education, appointed at the instance of Sir John Pakington in 1858, after careful investigation, published in 1861 its "Report on the State of Popular Education in England." This Report is a valuable document, and helps us to realize the tremendous service religious and voluntary organizations have played in educating England's poor. The estimate made by Ashley, in 1843, that fully one million children in Britain were receiving no daily education whatever was probably near the mark; but we must remember that at this same time *still greater numbers* of children were receiving daily instruction. Indeed, the Newcastle Commission found that 2,500,000 children were receiving some kind of daily education in English schools. This meant that more than one-eighth of the entire population were attending day schools: [4] and that ratio contrasted most favourably with the proportion of population receiving daily education in France; while it was not

[1] The Bill in no way interfered with religious teaching in voluntary schools, which received a grant for *secular* studies, providing they measured up to Government standards.

[2] Hodder, iii. 267.

[3] *Report of Education Commission* (1861), 15 ff.

[4] *Report of Newcastle Commission*, 13 (Introduction). Findings of this Commission stand in striking contrast to the statement of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Hammond, regarding the same decade, that "twelve out of thirteen of the children of England were to go without education at all" (*Lord Shaftesbury*, 257).

greatly behind the record of Prussia, which then had compulsory education; for the proportion of population attending school in that country was one to six.

Further light on the development of education through voluntary organization is derived from the Prince Consort's speech before the Conference on National Education, June 1857. The Prince's address traced the remarkable progress toward popular education in the first half of the century: "Since the beginning of the century, while the population has doubled itself, the number of schools, both public and private, has been multiplied fourteen times." [1] Further, he pointed out that as late as 1818 the number of scholars in day schools was only one in seventeen of the total population; but by 1851 it had risen to approximately one in eight. Nevertheless, while rejoicing in past developments, the Prince called for still further educational efforts. More than half the nation's children, between three and fifteen, were not even then attending day schools, and "only thirty per cent. of those who do attend are above nine years old." [2]

The Newcastle Commission sounded a similar call for advance; it pointed out that many schools were miserably equipped, that a considerable percentage of teachers were ill-trained, that industrial conditions and economic pressure frequently militated against regular school attendance,[3] and that greater incentives were needed to raise the whole standard of education. But, losing sight of none of these facts, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is quite justified in pointing out that the findings of the Newcastle Commission provide "*a striking tribute to the sterling qualities of self-help and religious earnestness which were so characteristic of the Early Victorian period.*" [4] Toward the development of these "sterling qualities of self-help and religious earnestness," however, no one made a more creative contribution than Shaftesbury, the "Children's Champion." [5]

[1] *Speeches and Addresses of Prince Consort*, 186.
[2] *Ibid.*, 188.
[3] *Report of 1861 Education Commission*, 180 ff.
[4] "Education" (England), *Ency. Brit.*
[5] Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, lacking sympathy with Shaftesbury's religion, and idealizing the Secularist attitude, say: "Shaftesbury's special experience, and his special interests in philanthropy, coloured his views of the education problem, and in the controversy between those who wanted the English people to be educated and those who were ready to leave it in ignorance, his influence was, as a rule, on the wrong side" (*op. cit.*, 255–6).

To understand Shaftesbury's attitude toward the secularization of education two popular speeches, delivered in St. James's Hall, before the National Education Union, should be carefully studied. The first was made on April 8, 1870, the second nearly two years later. Shaftesbury felt that the purely secular party were striving to set up an *Index Expurgatorius* in the national schools, and that the Scriptures were the only literature to be proscribed. Bearing in mind then the warmth of his religious convictions, it is not surprising that his whole soul rose up in protest against such aggression. The Marquis of Salisbury said, regarding the 1870 speech, that Shaftesbury spoke " with an eloquence he had never heard rivalled." The great philanthropist was scarcely a first-rate orator; nevertheless, on this occasion, his words certainly took fire and enthused the very souls of his hearers.

" What ! " exclaimed Shaftesbury, " exclude by Act of Parliament religious teaching from schools founded, supported by public rates ! Declare that the revealed Word of God and religious teaching shall be exiled to the odds and ends of time, and that only at such periods shall any efforts be devoted to the most important part of the education of the youth of the Empire ! It is an outrage upon the national feelings, and, more than this, it is, without exception, *the grossest violation of the rights of religious liberty* that was ever perpetrated, or even imagined, in the worst times, by the bigotry of any Government whatever, foreign or domestic."

The Earl here approached the crux of the whole problem, and the intensity of his feelings consequently increased : " We have now come to a period in the history of our country when there has just been granted to the people almost universal suffrage.[1] Is this a time to take from the mass of the population, in whom all power will henceforth reside, that principle of internal self-control, without which there can be no freedom, social or political—that principle of self-restraint which makes a man respect himself and respect his neighbour—that principle which alone can constitute the honour and stability and promote the dignity of democracy ?[2] Is this a time to take from

[1] The Reform Bill of 1867 had greatly enlarged popular enfranchisement.

[2] This argument helps to make plain the fact that Shaftesbury's opposition to " Democracy " was based not on fear of rule by the people, but rather on apprehensions that the people, in " Democracy's " name, should be ruled by atheistic demagogues.

the mass of the people the checks and restraints of religion? Is this a time to harden their hearts by the mere secularity of knowledge, or to withhold from them the cultivation of all those noble and divine influences which touch the soul?" [1]

Of the fact that Shaftesbury had considerable influence over Forster and his Education Bill there can be no doubt. Immediately after this mass meeting Forster wrote congratulations to the Earl: "I do not think a meeting could have been better managed or have done more good." [2] In a concluding paragraph he added: "I at least see now what I ought to do, and therefore I shall be without excuse if I do not do it." [3]

But even after the 1870 Education Act the Secularists were still at work: so, to counter their propaganda, on March 1, 1872, another huge popular demonstration was arranged in St. James's Hall, on which occasion Shaftesbury's second declaration was delivered. This meeting called for re-assertion of the principles laid down at the 1870 rally; and Shaftesbury, its principal speaker, implored the vast gathering to repeat their previous verdict "with a ten-fold emphasis": "And you will make your voices heard even within the walls of Parliament, saying that you stand to what you declared, and repeat it now, and no human power shall drive you from it—the Bible—the whole Bible—shall be used in the national schools of the land." [4] Then came an attack on the Secularist argument that national schools should have no intercourse with religion, and that if parents wanted their children to receive religious instruction it was their duty to impart that teaching at home: "But look at the condition of the parents. Are they capable? Can they do it? Is it possible that they can communicate to their children that which they do not themselves possess? And let me tell them (the Secularists)—I know the people as well as they do, and in many instances better—I know that many of those parents are wholly unable to communicate the Divine truths to their children, but are yet deeply anxious that they should be imparted to the hearts and souls of their children in the day school." [5]

[1] Speech before Nat. Educ. Union, 1870; Hodder, iii. 263–8.

[2] Forster's Guildhall speech on eightieth anniversary of Shaftesbury's birthday pays striking tribute to the Earl's good sense and moderation (Montague, *op. cit.*, 354).

[3] Hodder, iii. 266.

[4] Speech before Nat. Educ. Union (1872), 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, 8.

In truth, the burden of Shaftesbury's 1872 speech was that if England were a Christian country, then her national education must bear a Christian stamp. He would not trample over the rights of minorities, but he asserted that the national policy should be fundamentally Christian, rather than boastfully secular; for he believed that with all her shortcomings, and in spite of her much-paganism, England desired, at heart, to be a Christian country. The Earl's purpose, therefore, was not to deny to Secularists the right to their convictions, but to defeat what he considered a conspiracy to exclude religious influences from national schools: "I will assume, nay admit, the necessity of a certain number of secular institutions"; but what he objected to was that a purely secular system should "be forced upon religious people." [1]

Though ultra-Protestant, Shaftesbury dreaded complete secularization more than Rome. He declared he would sooner send his children to a Roman Catholic school than to one presided over by "some well-known rampant infidel"; [2] while again he exclaimed: "Whatever I may think of their system in other respects, the Roman Catholics have, I must say, been true to the great principle that religion should be the alpha and omega of education, and they shrink with horror from the very notion of a place of education where religion is not the primary consideration." [3] An illustration in the 1872 speech makes his attitude clear. "Oh!" said a certain schoolmaster, "I shall teach morality, but under no circumstances of intellectual teaching, and under no considerations of moral discipline would I even allow the name of God to be mentioned." It was here that Shaftesbury took issue with out-and-out Secularists: he believed there could be no vital morality without a burning conviction of the existence of an all-wise, all-righteous and all-loving God, who yearns to work with, and through, man, that truth and equity may reign on earth. Consequently, the concluding words of this speech re-echo the challenge of his soul; and, incidentally, they suggest how much of a revolutionist he, at times, was capable of becoming: "Here is the point at which you may

[1] Rationalism was in the air at this period. The Oxford Movement had caused pronounced reaction against any traditional authority; and the appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, 1859, greatly augmented the attack upon hierarchical assumptions. Then too, in 1871, appeared Darwin's *Descent of Man*, and controversy reached storm pitch. Little wonder, accordingly, that Shaftesbury's 1872 speech was heated.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 8. [3] Hodder, ii. 340.

stand; submit to anything—to fine, to imprisonment, to any penalties that may be imposed, but don't submit to send your child to school where he shall be debarred from the knowledge of God and of the Saviour, Jesus Christ. . . . 'Choose ye this day whom ye will serve; but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord.'" [1]

The ultimate effect of Shaftesbury's stand as friend of education and foe of secularism will probably remain debatable. However, the verdict of *A New Memoir*, published 1885, is not without foundation in fact: "It is beyond doubt that Shaftesbury contributed very largely to the defeat of the Secularists and saved the country from the scandal of a godless system of education." [2]

But from heated controversies over Secularism we now turn to an educational movement laden with tremendous influence to social progress; and in the romance of that movement Shaftesbury played leading rôle.

[1] *Op. cit.*, 13.
[2] *Shaftesbury: A New Memoir* (*Record* Newspaper Office).

CHAPTER XII

THE RAGGED SCHOOLS AND THE NATION'S OUTCASTS

"THE eels, which are in the mud," said Sir Thomas Chambers in 1861, "the Government have been trying to catch with nets, and they have caught nothing but the fish that swim. The conductors of Ragged Schools have gone down into the mud, and have caught the eels." Here we have an apt description of Ragged Schools. They set out with dauntless zeal to catch the little human eels living in the mud of society's great cities and knowing no other life than that of filth and slime. "In the mud!" Ah, yes! Sir Thomas's expression was literally true; for up to the middle of last century were there not scores of thousands of human eels,[1] large and small, young and old, born in the mud, housed in the mud, working in the mud, even clothed in the mud?—the mud of society's neglect!

The resources of the religious zealots who started Ragged Schools were not great. They must, therefore, of necessity, concentrate on the most effective goals; consequently they decided, at the outset, that the strategy of their campaign should centre in a determined effort to catch and educate the *little* eels. They were not without conviction that even the big ones, who had spent all their lives in the mud, and had now grown old in the haunts of vice, were still within the pale of hope; but they felt it a solemn duty to use their limited resources where they promised best results: and these pioneers had an impelling faith in the power of Christian education to cleanse and uplift the little eels, whom society had trampled deep down in the mire of slum life. The day might dawn—

[1] In his speech, "Emigration and Ragged Schools" (Commons, 1848), Shaftesbury declared that, after careful investigation, he was driven to conclude that naked, filthy, lawless, deserted *children* in the *metropolis* exceeded thirty thousand.

and they all prayed its dawning would be soon—when their equipment would permit them to go out after the big eels, as well as the little ones. Indeed they even cherished dreams that one day they would be able to extend their work above the mud, and angle for the sprightly swimming fish, passing with ease through the meshes of the nation's educational net. In the meantime, however, handicapped by limited resources, they determined, in Shaftesbury's phrase, "to stick to the gutter," and marshal their energies in a resolute campaign to catch and educate the *small human eels*, deep down in the mud.

To trace the forerunners of this Movement would lead us far afield.[1] These schools were a by-product of Evangelical zeal and were closely related to the whole Sunday School movement with which they co-operated. Their immediate ancestry, however, cannot be passed over in silence. John Pounds, the crippled shoemaker of Portsmouth, and the workers of the London City Mission, founded 1835, were the real parents of Ragged Schools. The labours of Pounds, who, up to the time of his death on New Year's Day, 1839, had educated, befriended, and almost fathered, some five hundred outcast children, are immortalized by Dr. Thomas Guthrie, an ardent apostle, who said of him: "That man is an honour to humanity. He has deserved the tallest monument ever raised on British shores." As for the efforts of the London City Mission, they may be ascertained from early publications of that Society. Thus, in an 1840 issue of their Magazine, we read: "Besides sending many children to schools, no less than five new schools have originated out of the labour of the missionaries, into which *children raggedly clothed* are admitted. There are now 570 children attending these schools."[2] Again, the Mission's "Fifth Annual Report," read at Exeter Hall, May 18, 1840, informs us that "during the past year several schools have arisen out of their labours, and *five have been formed exclusively for children raggedly clothed.*"[3]

[1] To form any fair conception of Ragged Schools a study of such works as the following is essential. C. J. Montague, *Sixty Years in Waifdom* (1904); David Williamson, *Lord Shaftesbury's Legacy* (1924); *The Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., In Memoriam*, by various writers (1885); David Williamson, *Life of Sir John Kirk* (1922); and numerous issues of both the *Shaftesbury Magazine* and the *London City Mission Magazine*. Harold Begbie's *The Little that is Good* (1917) is also suggestive.

[2] *London City Mission Magazine*, June 1840, 82.

[3] Thomas Cranfield, a pious tailor and ex-army corporal, also deserves credit as a pioneer of Ragged Schools. In 1798 he began a work for slum children in Southwark, London, which marked a definite advance from the

It was not till five years after Pounds's death, however, that the Ragged School Union was formed; and its origin was quite as unpretentious as the Portsmouth cobbler's godly life. On April 11, 1844, four Ragged School workers met for consultation and prayer at 17, Ampton Street, a humble house, off Gray's Inn Road, London.[1] None of these gentlemen could boast celebrity. One was a woollen-draper, another a dealer in second-hand tools; the third was a City Missionary; the fourth, S. R. Starey, a solicitor's clerk, proved the most energetic and far-sighted organizer among all the early recruits. After prayer and conference this little band drew up a resolution: "That to give permanence, regularity and vigour to existing Ragged Schools, and to promote the formation of new ones throughout the metropolis, it is advisable to call a meeting of superintendents, teachers and others interested in the schools for this purpose."[2] No time was lost in following up this recommendation, for before that month had run its course a conference of Ragged School workers was convened in a loft over a cow-shed, utilized as a school, in Streatham Street, St. Giles. At this conference it was unanimously agreed that some form of co-ordination among Ragged Schools would strengthen the movement. Accordingly, to give expression to their purpose, the forty teachers present in that cowshed school-room formed themselves into a "Central Committee," and on July 5th following, it was resolved that this Committee should be called the "Ragged School Union." At first they desired to affiliate themselves with the London City Mission, and a formal proposition was made to that effect; but the latter institution, having already more work on hand than it could wisely manage, deemed organic alliance unwise. Therefore, the Union being now confronted with the need of forming its own organization, secretaries were forthwith appointed, rules were drawn up and sanctioned; and in November 1844, Ashley was asked to become President.[3]

Replying to this request, he said: "*I shall be happy to aid you to the full extent of my power*, but I am disposed to advise

Sunday School to the Ragged School Movement. In a *Memoir of Thomas Cranfield*, by his son, we read: "The children frequently came so dirty that the colour of their skin could scarcely be ascertained; while their clothes, in many cases, were filled with vermin." Before Cranfield's death he had established a series of these schools, which frequently clothed as well as instructed their pupils. His heroic work was supported whole-heartedly by Rev. Rowland Hill.

[1] This house still stands to-day, but is now somewhat dilapidated.

[2] C. J. Montague, *op. cit.*, 167. [3] Hodder ii. 147.

a little deliberation before you set up a Society with all the apparatus of a President and Patrons." [1] It was, however, no chance inspiration that led the Central Committee to extend this invitation to Shaftesbury. Nearly two years prior to the formation of the Union he had given proof of his interest in Ragged Schools, and the workers well knew that he stood ready to help them to the full.

Indeed, long before these events, Shaftesbury's sensitive spirit had been brooding over the waifs and strays, the vagrants and outcasts, consigned to a life of misery in city slums. The plight of neglected *children*, in particular, caused his heart to bleed; he felt that they were being robbed of their birthright, were being forced into a life of shame, and then punished for crimes, not really theirs. In fact he thoroughly agreed with the convictions of Dr. Guthrie: "It is a great wrong to leave a child uneducated. It is a still greater wrong to punish it for crimes which are not its guilt, but ours—the infallible consequences of our criminal neglect." [2] Our criminal neglect! Ah, there was the rub! But how could that criminal neglect be remedied? It was with great joy that in February 1843 Shaftesbury's eye fell upon this *Times* advertisement:

RAGGED SCHOOLS.

FIELD LANE SABBATH SCHOOL,
65, WEST STREET, SAFFRON HILL.

The teachers are desirous of laying before the public a few facts connected with this school, situated in this most wretched and demoralized locality. It was opened in 1841 for instructing (free of expense) those who, from their poverty or ragged condition, are prevented attending any place of religious instruction. The school is under the superintendence of the District Missionary of the London City Mission, and is opened on Sundays and also on Thursday evening, when the average attendance is seventy (adults and children). The teachers are encouraged by the success which, under God, has attended their efforts, as manifested by the increased numbers, and altered conduct of some of the scholars. This appeal to the Christian public is made to afford permanency to a work of charity, commenced and supported by a few laymen, whose means are inadequate to the expenses necessarily attendant upon the enlarged state of the school. Any lady or gentleman willing to assist as teachers will be cordially welcomed.

[1] Hodder, ii. 147–8.

[2] C. J. Montague, 46; Dr. Guthrie's *Autobiography* and *Pleas for Ragged Schools*.

The advertisement then gives the names and addresses of persons to whom subscriptions might be sent, and concludes with the intimation that "left-off garments sent to the school will be carefully distributed." [1]

Shaftesbury lost no time in joining the ranks of this voluntary corps of "life-savers"; and in casting in his lot with them he laboured without reserve: "I never read an advertisement with keener pleasure. It answered exactly to what I had been looking and hoping for. I could not regard it as other than a direct answer to my fervent prayer." It was inevitable, therefore, that when the Ragged School Union was formed the following year, Shaftesbury was already marked out as President.

A moment's pause in the environment of the first Ragged School with which Shaftesbury was associated throws light on our problem. The Field Lane district, off Holborn Hill, was a centre of London's most criminal life, and represented a state of degradation unapproached in any British city to-day. The Government realized the danger of such quarters, and repressive measures were adopted as a cure. Squads of police were sent down spasmodically to raid certain haunts; and after each new raid new batches of derelicts were sent to prison, or perchance the gallows. Dr. David Hughson, in his *London*, informs us that nineteen of these wretches were hanged at one time; but still the evil grew. The weeds of vice sprang up more rapidly than Government repression could mow them down. Ignorance, misery and crime were triple rulers over the district, and they reigned with despotic sway. Even police quaked before their satanic power, and only in squads of considerable size could they be induced to frequent the district. Nor was it because of cowardice that such precaution was taken; without it constables courted disaster or death. Mr. Vanderkist's *Notes and Narratives on a Six Years' Mission* informs us that, "the disturbances which occurred here were of so desperate a character, that from forty to fifty constables would be marched down with cutlasses, it being frequently impossible for officers to act in fewer numbers or unarmed." [2]

It must be remembered, therefore, that the first Ragged Schools attacked a problem before which the boasted institutions of legal administration had largely broken down. Yet

[1] Hodder, i. 481.

[2] Dickens's picture of London's criminal life in *Oliver Twist* is contemporaneous with this period.

with love in their hearts, and Bibles in their hands, the early teachers of Ragged Schools entered the vilest communities to make friends of people, before whom the representatives of law and order slunk away with fear. Indeed, Ragged Schools gave many a demonstration of how a young woman might teach the Bible, with perfect security, to the roughest men, in environments from which a dozen policemen would have run for help.[1]

But Ragged Schools were not exempted from a fight which sorely tested their faith. Their early pioneers were endowed with little educational equipment, and less financial support; their knowledge of scientific method was negligible, and their ability for organization had to come from experiment and experience. Yet, lacking much, they had a firm grip on the one thing most needful—a persevering faith. A desperate struggle was before them; but sheer conviction won the day. Charles Dickens has left a graphic picture of this struggle in the case of the Field Lane School: "I found my first Ragged School," says Dickens, "in an obscene place called West Street, Saffron Hill, pitifully struggling for life under every disadvantage. It had no means; it had no suitable rooms; it derived no power or protection from being recognized by any authority; it attracted within its walls a fluctuating swarm of faces—young in years, but youthful in nothing else—that scowled Hope out of countenance. It was held in a low-roofed den, in a sickening atmosphere, in the midst of taint, and dirt and pestilence; with all the deadly sins let loose, howling and shrieking at the doors. Zeal did not supply the place of method and training; the teachers knew little of their office; the pupils, with an evil sharpness, found them out, got the better of them, derided them, made blasphemous answers to Scriptural questions, sang, fought, danced, robbed each other—seemed possessed by a legion of devils.[2] The place was stormed and carried over and

[1] Shaftesbury tells us that on one occasion, entering a Ragged School, he found a remarkably beautiful young woman surrounded by a large group of the most vicious-looking men. Yet, unperturbed, this young lady was imparting instruction, religious and secular, in an atmosphere of perfect calm. His lordship, however, felt uneasy; so, seeking out the Mission Superintendent, he asked if he had no fears. The Superintendent replied in the affirmative; but his fears were different from the Earl's. He was only afraid that some day a strange ruffian, happening into the room, might insult the teacher; and, in such an event, those uncouth pupils, he asserted, would jump upon the offender, and tear him limb from limb.

[2] Shaftesbury relates a humorous incident illustrating the difficulties confronting early Ragged Schools. One night his friend, Judge Payne, went to visit a newly started school. On arrival he found the lights extinguished

over again ; the lights were blown out, the books strewn in the gutters, and the female scholars carried off triumphantly to their old wickedness. *With no strength in it but its purpose, the school stood it all out, and made its way. Some two years since I found it quiet and orderly, full, lighted with gas, well whitewashed, numerously attended, and thoroughly established.*" [1]

Thus Dickens records his experience of *two* years' development in the Field Lane School. But what was the history of this school at the end of *ten* years ? Its progress was well-nigh incredible, and stands a striking tribute to the foresight, initiative and ability manifested by Shaftesbury and his associates. Ten years after its birth the Field Lane institution alone could boast : " A free day school for infants ; an evening school for youths and adults engaged in daily occupation ; a women's evening school, for improving character and extending domestic usefulness . . . industrial classes to teach youths tailoring and shoe-making ; employment in the shape of wood-chopping, as an industrial test for recommendation to situations ; a home for boys when first engaged in places, apart from unwholesome contamination ; a night refuge for the utterly destitute ; a clothing society for the naked ; a distribution of bread to the starving ; baths for the filthy ; a room to dry clothes worn in the rain during the day ; Bible-classes, under voluntary teaching, through which nearly ten thousand persons of all ages, but of one class—all in a state of physical and spiritual destitution—had heard set forth the glad tidings of salvation ; various prayer meetings, quarterly conferences for committee and teachers for minute examination into the detailed working of the institution ; a school missionary to supply the spiritual wants of the sick, to scour the streets, to bring youthful wanderers to the school, and to rescue fallen females from paths of sin ; and a Ragged Church for the proclamation of the Gospel and the worship of God ! " [2]

Such was the development of a single Ragged School within ten years : and that school was " typical of dozens planted in the most disreputable parts of London " ; it served as a model for scores of new schools springing up among the disinherited

and all the windows broken ; the head master " was lying on his back, with six boys sitting on him, singing ' Pop goes the weasel.' " Commenting on this incident, Shaftesbury said : " Depend upon it, the very boys that sang ' Pop goes the weasel ' on the prostrate master will be among the best boys and monitors in the school " (David Williamson, *op. cit.*, 49).

[1] Hodder, i. 484–5. [2] Hodder, *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 146–7.

all over the country. Behind its variegated programme the hand of Shaftesbury is clearly seen. Ragged Schools were created to face a desperate situation among society's outcasts, and the Earl was under no delusions as to the power of a cold system of secular tuition to meet that situation. He knew the value of reading, writing and arithmetic; and he was by no means blind to the usefulness of grammar, history and geography, but he realized that these things, in themselves, were no fairy wand which could lift derelict children out of the gutter and instil into their minds the ideals of a self-respecting life. Just this, however, was the arch-purpose of Shaftesbury's educational campaign: for him education was not an end in itself, but a means toward personal righteousness and social equity. Hence he reckoned the ethical purpose *behind* education all-supreme; and he believed that this purpose could only express itself through human sympathy and a sense of common responsibility to God, who was Himself working for mercy and righteousness on earth, and who desired all His children, "made in His image," to co-operate with Him, that the "Will of the Father be done on earth as in Heaven." Therefore the numerous varieties of Ragged School activity were but the logical expression of the ethical-religious purpose dominating the whole movement; and when these schools had spread from dozens to scores, and from scores to hundreds, and when, in a few decades, their voluntary teachers in London alone were counted in thousands,[1] the purpose of the organization remained unchanged. The directors learned from experience; they adapted their methods to new demands; they frequently revised and modified their curriculum to meet unforeseen situations, ever remembering that the curriculum was made for scholars and not scholars for the curriculum:[2] but, all the while, the ethical-religious purpose only increased in strength. And who would make so bold as to contend that the influence of these schools, with their fixed purpose, did not exercise a mighty power in reducing juvenile crime, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, to less

[1] Hodder's survey of this movement in 1897 (*S. as Soc. Ref.*, 161–2). Mr. Arthur Black, present Secretary of the "Shaftesbury Society and Ragged School Union," informs the writer that to-day (1926) their voluntary workers in London alone number about five thousand.

[2] This adaptability was specially necessary after 1870, when School Boards relieved the Union of a considerable proportion of their responsibility toward secular education. But Ragged Schools soon readjusted their bearings, and went in all the stronger for social, religious and industrial work among the "substratum" class.

than one-third of its proportions when the Union was formed ? Indeed, an old Recorder of London declared that " juvenile crime had been reduced 75 per cent., mainly by the Ragged Schools." [1]

But to narrate, even in outline, the thrilling tale of the growth of Ragged Schools and the vicissitudes through which they passed, would carry us too far. Mr. Montague's work, *Sixty Years in Waifdom*, illuminated by scores of illustrations, facsimiles and diagrams, records the whole romance ; and a remarkable romance it is. Indeed, one could not make a greater mistake than to suppose that Ragged Schools represented a vague sentimentality, disassociated from the facts of life. On the contrary, it was intimate knowledge of slum life that spurred the directors of the movement to grapple with the problems involved. Their religion forced them to meditate upon ghastly social conditions which the bulk of their fellows either overlooked, took for granted, or justified by " economic law." To these zealots a social conscience had been born, and though others might pass by the dump-heaps of society's neglect without a scruple, or perchance even a thought, it could not be so with them. Their eyes were opened to the shame of slum life. They saw its drunkenness and bestiality, its misery and crime ; they wandered through the narrow, stagnant lanes of the worst slum districts and familiarized themselves with the fearful stench of hovels, there passing for homes ; they came to know intimately the desperate plight of under-nourished mothers and half-starved children ; they drank the slum's poisoned water and partook of its tainted food. They tasted the bitter dregs of misery's common cup—a life of ignorance and filth, chained to despair, and divorced from Hope. Yes, Ragged School teachers were haunted by a nightmare of society's neglect, and, what is more, they were determined to burn that nightmare into the public conscience. They, in truth, were George Bernard Shaws to their generation ; but they were more—much more ! They bore a message, *positive* as well as negative, and the eloquence of their message lay in the fact that they flung their own lives, without reserve, into constructive service. Indeed, the more they came to know of the crushing environment of their labours the more they were convinced that Ragged Schools had a unique

[1] C. J. Montague, *op. cit.*, chap. xvii (*Ragged School Union and Diminution of Crime*).

mission, and the more they were determined that, however hard the task, that mission must be achieved. So great, in fact, were the labours of these enthusiasts that when the School Board Act was passed (1870) the Ragged School Union could boast 440 *paid* teachers;[1] in addition to thousands of workers rendering gratuitous service on Sundays and in the evenings of week days.

Extremely interesting would be an exact knowledge of the service rendered by Ragged Schools in rousing the nation to a recognition of its duty toward outcast children; for certainly it was no accident that these institutions were immediate forerunners of Board School education. When 25,000 slum children were receiving *day* education in several hundred Ragged Schools;[2] when an additional, and much greater, multitude consisting largely of thieves, hawkers, costers, paupers, vagrants, waifs and strays, of all ages, besieged these institutions for instruction on Sunday;[3] when an army of 440 paid, and several thousand voluntary workers,[4] including not a few personalities eminent in national life, composed the teaching staff of these institutions, it was surely time that the Government bestirred itself to provide National Education.[5] These schools were designed to serve the lowest strata of society; they were meant for "eels in the mud"; and, as we have seen, Shaftesbury's repeated advice to associates was: "Stick to the gutter." This advice, moreover, was acted upon; but in the Britain of that day there were scores of thousands of children above the "gutter" strata receiving no regular education whatever, beyond that offered by Sunday Schools. Just how much then Ragged Schools accomplished toward shaming the Government into acceptance of its responsibility to these neglected children will probably remain a riddle. One might, however, venture a shrewd guess that their influence was not small. Certain it is that Shaftesbury himself believed the Ragged School saved

[1] C. J. Montague, 191.

[2] *Ibid.*, 181 (table showing growth of schools from 1849–69).

[3] So popular were Ragged Schools that "a policeman in some cases is kept at the door to drive away those who try to force themselves in" (Williamson, 37).

[4] Each School had its own Committee, and was an autonomous institution. The *Union* simply acted in an advisory capacity, and raised auxiliary funds to supplement those of local institutions.

[5] Both the teaching staff and the financial support of Ragged Schools came from Evangelical enthusiasts representing the Established Church and all branches of Dissent. In fact the Union represented a sort of Church Alliance for practical ends.

A RAGGED SCHOOL, AND SPECIMENS OF HUMAN MATERIAL AMONG WHOM THESE SCHOOLS LABOURED

England from a revolutionary welter of bloodshed. This estimate is probably an exaggeration; nevertheless it is the confirmed conviction of many eminent historians that the social-educational endeavours of the Evangelical Movement, of which the Ragged School system was one phase, not only saved England from revolution, but laid the foundations of self-help [1] and democratic development—the peculiar pride of English-speaking peoples to-day.[2]

Although the Ragged School movement was started by men in the humblest walks of life, many and interesting are the volumes written about celebrities who later joined the cause. Dickens has already been referred to, and it is no exaggeration to say that his early association with the Field Lane institution made him a life preacher for Ragged Schools.[3] To-day it is frequently contended that "all true Art is produced for Art's sake." Dickens, prince of our novelists, gives the lie to this self-centred dogma. The supreme artist of his century, he never let "art" run away with his message; and his letters to Shaftesbury, Mr. Starey and other social workers show how strong was his conviction that he had a message to proclaim. Indeed, it has been truly said that "the serious business of every book he wrote was to make certain of securing the sympathy of every reader for some typical ill-used creature, or produce a feeling of aversion for some corrupt individual, also a type." For instance, his letter to Edward Fitzgerald, asking confidentially for Shaftesbury's aid in acquiring first-hand information relative to certain social problems, shows no sympathy with any "Art-for-Art's-sake" conception of literature. In this letter he wrote: "*I mean to strike the heaviest blow in my power for these unfortunate creatures*, but whether I shall do so in the *Nickleby*, or wait some other opportunity, I have not yet

[1] Mr. Samuel Smiles's book, *Self-Help*, had tremendous influence throughout the Evangelical world and was widely used by Ragged Schools as a text. The origin of this book was suggested by an educational effort not unlike that of Ragged Schools (Introduction to first edition).

[2] Lecky, Rogers, Overton, Sir James Stephen and J. R. Green are among historians who hold such convictions. But the best statement of this belief is contained in Élie Halévy's *History of English People in 1815*, Book III.

[3] Referring, in a Christmas story, to neglected ragged children, Dickens says: "There is not one of these—not one—but sows a harvest mankind *must* reap. From every seed of evil in this boy a field of ruin is grown that shall be gathered in, and garnered up, and sown again in many places of the world, until regions are overspread with wickedness enough to raise the waters of another Deluge" (*Shaftesbury's Legacy*, 31).

determined." [1] Again, in a letter to Starey, February 1, 1844, Dickens asks: "Will you have the goodness to turn over in your mind, and note down for me, as briefly as you please, any little facts or details connected with the Ragged Schools which you think it would *benefit the design to have publicly known*? . . . The kind of thing I wish to know is—your average number of scholars—whether it increases or falls off—whether any boys are pretty constant in their attendance—whether after absenting themselves they return again—whether the ignorance of their parents is one of your rocks ahead—and the like. In short, *I think I can turn any result of your experience and observation of these unfortunate creatures to the account you would desire*." [2]

It was an article of Dickens [3] that won the active support of Spurgeon to Ragged Schools, and a mighty friend he proved himself. Though, like Shaftesbury, an ultra-conservative in theology, Spurgeon was an advanced liberal in applying Gospel principles to social problems; and his marvellous gifts of heart and wit did great service to social reform. On scores of occasions he appeared on the platform with Shaftesbury, and, like Judge Payne, his droll humour was of pronounced value in establishing his case. When, for instance, the storm was raging around secular *versus* religious education, and the atmosphere was electric with thunderbolts of controversy, Shaftesbury's tremendous intensity, like Gladstone's, was liable to produce resentment in the hostile camp; but Spurgeon's wit poured oil on the troubled waters. He was a past-master in the art of driving home mighty attacks without offending his opponents; yet the "knock-out" character of his blows was none the less pronounced. On one occasion he said: "People are under the impression that Board Schools are a kind of father to poor children. That is a great mistake, as little Tom and Jim well know. The Board Schools may, perhaps, be a *father-in-law* to them, but they are not a father and never will be." [4]

Again, this conservative theologian, but advanced reformer, was ready with apt argument to meet the laments of a certain nobleman who, fearful of *all* social change, stood aghast at the mere suggestion of democratic developments. "Never you be afraid of democracy," said Spurgeon. "I always think of scum

[1] Hodder, i. 227.
[2] Montague, 363–4, 358–66 (italics inserted).
[3] Dickens at this time was editor of *Household Words*.
[4] *Sixty Years in Waifdom*, 308.

when I think of the top of the pot, though no doubt there is a nasty sediment at the bottom." [1] Spurgeon's was a marvellous ministry among the common people, and it afforded no ordinary opportunities of knowing their worth ; he, therefore, had no fear of Democracy, if only it were Christian. Each year this world-famous preacher found time to address the teachers of the Ragged School staff, and Shaftesbury expressed many a warm appreciation. " There is no man in this country," he said, " whose opinion and support in these matters (the service of the poor) I prize more highly than that of Mr. Spurgeon. Few men have preached so much and so well, and few have combined so practically their words and actions. I deeply admire and love him, because I do not believe that there lives anywhere a more sincere and simple servant of Our Blessed Lord." [2]

In 1856, speaking of Ragged Schools, Shaftesbury said : " It is our principle that for this great end shall be combined all who hold the great leading doctrines of Christianity ; that in this matter we shall know neither Jew nor Gentile, Church of England man nor Dissenter ; [3] but we shall only know the man who seeks to promote the honour of the Saviour, by making him known to those sitting in darkness." [4] Much was accomplished toward this end. In the Union's labours men and women worked together in fullest Christian harmony who would have found it impossible to agree on matters ecclesiastical or doctrinal. And not only laymen, of different schools, were drawn into co-operation : but, what was more important, many leading divines, both of the Establishment and Dissent, found in the challenge of Ragged Schools a uniting platform ; and in mutual endeavour they discovered a vital fraternity. Among prominent Churchmen who campaigned for this cause were Archbishop Sumner, Dean Farrar, the Bishop of Rochester and Canon Barnett ; among Dissenters were such celebrities as Newman Hall, Hugh Price Hughes, Spurgeon and Dr. Parker ; [5] while in Scotland Dr. Guthrie and Sheriff Watson joined with all and sundry who put their shoulder to the wheel.[6]

[1] *Sixty Years in Waifdom*, 307. [2] *Ibid.*, 159.

[3] Stout Evangelical as Shaftesbury from boyhood was, only close association with Nonconformists in social reform exploded his early assumption of " Church " superiority.

[4] Montague, 150. [5] *Ibid.*, chapter x.

[6] In Princes Street, Edinburgh, stands a stately memorial, bearing this inscription : " Thomas Guthrie, D.D.—Preacher—Philanthropist : 1803-1873. An eloquent preacher of the Gospel. Founder of the Edinburgh

The Union's teaching staff was a veritable democracy of service, for included in its fold were all grades of society from Lord Mayors of London to Whitechapel tinkers, and when these teachers referred to one another as "brothers in Christ," the expression carried no suggestion of cant; for whatever their "social position" they here met together in perfect equality, as voluntary servants of slum children—and in mutual love of Him who said: "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." Mr. Strachey's graphic picture of General Gordon [1] naturally says little of his six years' residence at Gravesend. It is the "Chinese Gordon" and the "Gordon of Khartoum" who holds romantic place in Imperial History. Yet Gordon himself referred to those years as the "most peaceful and happy portion of his life," and during all that time his interest gravitated toward Ragged Schools. He lived a life of utmost simplicity that he might render greater service to "his boys," and not only did he help in all aspects of Ragged School work, but his home was open every day of the week to his lads and "their pals." Yes, and when duty called Gordon to other ends of the earth, his letters prove that he still prayed "twice daily" for Ragged Schools, while his more-than-generous gifts reveal the sincerity of his prayers.[2]

Scarcely less romantic than the life of Gordon is that of John Macgregor. This "Rob Roy" of adventure was a barrister, a popular lecturer, a brilliant journalist and a man of letters; nevertheless, the daring spirit which braved so many world waters in a "Rob Roy" canoe, brought all its boundless enthusiasm to the work of Ragged Schools; for not only was Macgregor a faithful "teacher and director," but it was he who organized the Shoe-Black Brigade, and made it an effective instrument in the Industrial development of the Union's work.[3] Other notable workers were Dr. Barnardo, Quintin Hogg, Professor Leone Levi, Sir Robert Carden, an ex-Lord Mayor of London, Judge Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's School Days*,

Original Ragged Industrial Schools and, by tongue and pen, the apostle of the movement everywhere. One of the earliest temperance reformers. A friend of the poor and oppressed."

[1] L. Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*.

[2] See facsimile of Gordon's 1872 letter to Ragged School Superintendent, Gravesend (Montague, 139).

[3] Hodder's *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 155; *Shaftesbury Magazine*, January–March, 1925, "Rob Roy."

the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, and several lady authors of no mean reputation; while also, it should be remembered that Sir Walter Besant rendered great service with his pen, for the People's Palace, erected in East London at a cost of £75,000, was the child of his novel: *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*.[1]

One other pioneer deserves special notice here, for he was a life veteran in Ragged School ranks. Judge Payne spoke at the Union's *first* Annual Meeting in June 1845: before his death, twenty-five years later, he had delivered many hundreds of speeches in its behalf. He was Shaftesbury's constant platform companion, and by the nimble play of his wit he held, at his will, the power of throwing huge audiences into spasms of laughter. Indeed, the number of his witticisms and rhymes are said to exceed 2,400; and not a few were composed extemporaneously. The warmest friendship sprang up between Shaftesbury and Payne, and with that friendship came a platform understanding. The Earl has left an amusing account of this pact: "As he and I were constantly on the platform, we had a mutual understanding. I was to accept the reiteration of his stories, and he the reiteration of my speeches. I made, I think, the better bargain; for, to the last his stories interested myself and others, but I cannot think he could have said, certainly he could not have thought, the same of my speeches."[2] Then followed a great tribute to Payne's character: "He had no self-restraint in the devotion of his time, his thoughts, his mind, and everything that he possessed. Except his conscience, there was no single thing that he considered his own."

The death of this devoted colleague was a stunning blow to Shaftesbury, and his Diary, March 3, 1870, reveals the depth of his grief: "Last night, on return from Sunday School meeting at Stepney, read . . . that my dear, old precious friend and fellow-worker, Joseph Payne, was suddenly called to his rest! Most assuredly to his rest in Heaven, for no man ever more

[1] 1912 Supplement to *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* (Sir Walter Besant).

[2] Hodder, iii. 262. Shaftesbury's never-failing delight in Payne's witticisms scarcely supports Mr. Hammond's contention that he was lacking in all sense of humour. Statements of those who knew him best prove this assertion erroneous. Few people knew Shaftesbury as intimately as Earl Granville, who sat with him both in the Commons and the Lords. Yet, at the conclusion of this long association, Granville says: "I have hardly ever known any man with a greater sense of humour than himself (Shaftesbury), or with a greater appreciation of humour in other persons. I have heard him tell with exquisite glee jokes not of a respectful character, made at his own expense by a favourite brother" (*In Memoriam*, 58).

loved the Lord Jesus and more truly and heartily fulfilled His words, 'Feed my lambs.' What shall I feel without him? Every meeting, every speech, every mention of Ragged School affairs, every movement or thought in behalf of sorrowing or destitute children will recall his pious and pleasant memory. During five-and-twenty years we have been associates in the happy toil of the poor innocents of London." [1]

As for the standard of education set by Ragged Schools in early days, one could scarcely expect it to be high. An intelligent reading of the Bible and such moral literature as *The Pilgrim's Progress* and Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help*,[2] together with a little ciphering and grammar, was about as far as their curriculum ventured. Nevertheless, the devotion of thousands of voluntary teachers worked wonders, and the youngsters received a vastly greater degree of personal attention than ever could have been the case in more professional institutions. A heart of love was behind the voluntary teachers' work, and, although they laboured against great disadvantages, it remains an open question whether or not the assumed airs of superiority, on the part of State-aided schools, had any justification in fact.

After the advent of the Board School Act, however, certain devotees of secularism were determined to crush Ragged Schools, and for a time controversy raged at fever heat. An official Board School organ published an article with a bitter sting: "These waifs and strays of the vast city received only such instruction as they could pick up in the streets and alleys, or in establishments which, at best, were *schools only in name*." [3] Such thrusts were scarcely designed to win the confidence of men who had sacrificed much for the education of disinherited children; and naturally retorts were forthcoming. Consequently, when, in 1872, following the death of a chimney-sweep,[4] Shaftesbury was engaged in his final struggle to emancipate climbing-boys, he bluntly asked what School Boards were doing to protect children of school age from the barbarities of a sweep's life. Other Ragged School pioneers were equally anxious to subdue intolerance. Hence we find Sir Thomas Chambers shooting home a few pointed questions: "Who

[1] Hodder, iii. 263.

[2] Though *Self-Help* did not appear till 1859, it found immediate favour in Ragged Schools and provided great stimulus to effort.

[3] Montague, 311.

[4] Hammond, 234–5.

are they that have brought about this marvellous improvement in the amount of education given, and in the educational machinery involved? Who but the members of all the Evangelical Churches throughout the country? Who have filled the Sunday Schools, and the Ragged Schools, and the British and Foreign Schools, and, to a great extent, the national schools, with teachers? Who but men who have acted from religious motives, and whose conduct has been influenced by the teaching of the Gospel?" [1]

Thus, not infrequently, the atmosphere was heated by controversy, and occasionally fire flashed from both camps. Shaftesbury tried hard to be fair and to see the situation from both angles; and for a man of his temperament he succeeded pretty well. On May 8, 1871, the twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Union was held. Only a few months previously the Elementary Education Act had come into force; consequently one might have expected warm criticism of the Board Schools' programme. Such, however, was not the case; all speakers showed marked restraint, and some rejoiced greatly that the nation was now, at last, recognizing its obligation to outcast children. Shaftesbury was in the chair;[2] and his speech, though brief, was a masterly survey of the Ragged School case. After illustrating the paternal spirit of the Union's work, he proceeded to draw a comparison with Board Schools: "I am not going to speak in critical disparagement of the new system, for I believe that in the present state of divided opinion in England it would have been impossible to enact any law providing more minutely and definitely the instruction of children in the Christian life. Depend upon it Mr. Forster is a good and true man. He would, no doubt, have gone much further, if he could. He did his best and saved us from national apostasy, and *we must try and turn to account what he has done.* Aye, but then, see the wide difference between our system and the new one—cold, stiff, starched and in buckram. Consider what must be the effects of having to act entirely under the dictates of the Privy Council." [3] Then, a moment later, Shaftesbury put his finger on what, from the religious standpoint, was the great weakness of the Board School curriculum:

[1] *Sixty Years in Waifdom*, 310.

[2] Up till this date, and, indeed, till the year before his death, when detained through illness, Shaftesbury never missed an Annual Meeting of R.S.U.

[3] *Ragged School Magazine*, xxiii (1871), 129.

"If religion form no part of what will come under the examination of the inspector, it is not likely, humanly speaking, that much attention will be paid to it by teachers." [1]

By 1871 not less than 300,000 children had received instruction in Ragged Schools,[2] and now a type of new-fledged enthusiast for popular education was pouring ridicule on their work. The leaders, therefore, required no small degree of self-control to suppress resentment; nevertheless, the following resolution, moved by Rev. C. D. Marston, was carried at the Union's Annual Meeting in Exeter Hall, 1871: "That this meeting rejoices that at last Parliament recognizes the claims of the very poor for education upon a footing of equality with the children of the classes supporting themselves by manual labour, and that the social status of Ragged School children no longer excludes them from the privileges of education in common with other English children." [3] Further on, Marston expressed the good will of the Union toward Board Schools: "We must all rejoice at the recognition of the truth that the State is the great parent of all; that the State owes paternal duties to all, and that it is impossible for it to discharge those duties unless it goes down with a tender and considerate care to the lowest of the low, in order that it may give them a suitable education and fit them when they have grown up to act as good sons and daughters of the parent that has tended them when young. I hold that to be a great principle and I think we ought to be grateful for its recognition." [4]

Unfortunately, this conciliatory spirit did not always prevail, and 1876 witnessed a flare-out around the Ogle Mews Ragged School, off Tottenham Court Road. For twenty-five years prior to the erection of a Board School in this district, the Ogle Mews School had been conducting a valuable work. Now, in 1876, a Board School was erected, and, to its directors' dismay, they found themselves unable to fill it; yet the Ragged School was flourishing. Consequently the latter institution came in for rough treatment. Its officials were summoned to court on the ground that "the education given did not satisfy the Board's standard." Warm scenes followed. The master of the new school "told the bench plainly that *extermination, not efficiency*, was the Board's object." But this object was

[1] *Ragged School Magazine*, xxiii (1871), 130.
[2] *Ibid.*, 132.
[3] *Ibid.*, 137.
[4] *Ibid.*, 137–8.

scarcely charitable; and men who had sacrificed much for that particular school, and knew something of its work, were not inclined to accept insults lying down. Sir Robert Carden, an ex-Lord Mayor, was then a voluntary teacher in this very school; so he brought children to court for *viva voce* examination by the magistrate. A test followed; and, all considered, the judicial examiner thought the youngsters passed through their ordeal quite admirably. The Board School's counsel, however, chose to think otherwise; his wrath was thoroughly roused; he had tasted blood and henceforth vegetable diet had no appeal. He still, therefore, quibbled about the inadequacy of Ragged School standards, and Sir Robert in turn checkmated him by insisting that children of the two schools be pitted against one another in public examination. High-pitched excitement thus continued for some time, and several Press articles appeared on the subject; but, fortunately, at this juncture peace-makers came to the rescue and the issue was quietly settled, though the mud thrown did no good to either side.[1]

Huxley's outlook on life could scarcely predispose him toward extravagant raptures over Ragged Schools; but as a member of London's first School Board he was drawn into intimate association with their work and came, consequently, to hold a high opinion of their function. Indeed, he believed their service to the "substratum" class was unique, and that they had a peculiar purpose to fulfil as "supplementary" schools. Huxley's knowledge of social affairs led him to see that "no system of national education can succeed unless provision is made for the lowest strata"; but it was on these very strata that Ragged Schools had been at work for thirty years. Hence he proposed that Ragged Schools be encouraged to continue their work alongside Board Schools; but he recommended that their name be changed from Ragged to "Substrata" Schools. The professor's suggestion regarding a changed name may seem pedantic; nevertheless such tributes to the service of these institutions are no mean recommendation from the mouth of the chief prophet of Agnosticism.[2]

Turning now, briefly, to branches of endeavour springing from the Ragged School stem, it might almost be said their

[1] *Sixty Years in Waifdom*, 312–13.
[2] *Ragged School Magazine*, xxiii, 139–41, and Montague, 313.

name is legion.[1] For *elementary education* the Union developed schools of marked variety to suit different needs and in them practical tuition—religious, secular, industrial—was offered free. Its *economic* endeavours gave birth to industrial classes, penny banks, colonial emigration schemes,[2] emigration farms, training ships, homes for working youths, industrial exhibitions; coal, clothing and shoe clubs; cooking, sewing and knitting-classes; the apprenticing of boys in trades, the formation of the Shoe-Black Brigade, and a host of similar activities. *Social* efforts expressed themselves in the establishment of coffee-rooms, mothers' meetings, boys' institutes, youths' clubs, cripples' aid, soup-kitchens, recreational classes, holidays in the country for sickly children, annual treats, maternity societies, temperance guilds, garden clubs, flower-shows, efficiency prizes and such like.[3] *Literary and musical* efforts too were not overlooked. From an early date the Union had its own Magazine; and lending libraries, reading-rooms, drum-and-fife bands, choral instruction and concert parties, as well as children's choirs, formed part of the Union's pride. Public lectures also found a place in the programme from an early stage, while a knowledge of the Bible and the imparting of ethical instruction lay at the roots of the system. Indeed religious teaching and influence permeated everything; but it had special expression in the Ragged Church, in Bible classes, mission services, Bands of Hope, prayer meetings, and in the use of Scripture as the driving power of the entire system.[4]

All these activities, and others, were within immediate control of Ragged Schools;[5] but, in addition, it should be remembered that certain *independent* offshoots have had no insignificant influence on British life, both at home and throughout the Colonies. The National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and many similar institutions, owe much to Ragged Schools; but the National Refuges for Destitute

[1] "Ragged School Tree," drawn by S. E. Hayward (Montague, 271).

[2] Government gave one grant of £1,500 for this work, but all other moneys were raised by voluntary subscriptions.

[3] Attendance at any Annual Rally of "Shaftesbury Society and Ragged School Union," held in Queen's Hall, London, in May, will give the spectator some idea of the variegated social activities undertaken by this Society to-day, and also of the efficiency with which they are carried out. Performances by the children (many of them cripples) are remarkable.

[4] See "Broadcasted Message," by Earl of Shaftesbury (grandson of Seventh Earl), for terse review of present work of Shaftesbury Society (*Shaftesbury Magazine*, Oct. 1923).

[5] Hodder's chapter, "Ragged Schools," *S. as Soc. Ref.*

Children, established by William Williams,[1] the Polytechnic Institute founded by Quintin Hogg, and the world-famous Barnardo Homes are immediate progeny of this movement.

Londoners to-day are all familiar with the statue of Quintin Hogg instructing "his boys."[2] They all know of his pioneer work in polytechnic education. Is it, however, always remembered that his great accomplishment was an outgrowth of Ragged School experience?

The romance of the Polytechnic Institute is related by Hogg himself: "My first effort was to get a couple of crossing-sweepers, whom I picked up near Trafalgar Square, and offer to teach them to read.[3] In those days the Thames embankment did not exist, and the Adelphi Arches were open both to the tide and the street. With an empty beer-bottle for a candlestick, and a tallow candle for illumination, two crossing-sweepers as pupils, your humble servant as teacher, and a couple of Bibles as reading-books, what grew into the Polytechnic was practically started."[4] But that first lesson had not proceeded long when it was rudely terminated. A policeman's searchlight suddenly flashed under the arches, and, instantaneously, school was dissolved; the two pupils instinctively jumped up, uttered a shriek, extinguished the candle, and bolted off into darkness, leaving Hogg alone to make his peace with the police.

It was evident to young Hogg that this experiment was scarcely a success. He still had much to learn; but he was resolved to succeed, whatever the cost. Therefore, purchasing a shoe-blacking outfit, he determined to experience the life of outcast boys for himself: "With this," he tells us, "I used to go out two or three nights a week for about six months, blacking boots and sleeping out with the boys, on barges, under tarpaulins, or in the so-called 'Punches Hole,' on a ledge in the Adelphi Arches and elsewhere.[5] Of course, my father knew nothing at all about it, and sometimes, if I felt my companions in those holes particularly full of vermin, I would go and roll myself up in a blanket on the table of our Mission

[1] Montague, 243–4.

[2] This Memorial stands in Regent Street, between the Polytechnic and Queen's Hall.

[3] Hogg himself was still only a youth who had recently left Eton.

[4] *Sixty Years in Waifdom*, 250.

[5] See portrait of Hogg in shoe-black uniform (*Quintin Hogg: A Biography*, by Ethel M. Hogg, 46).

Room and sleep there. My real object, of course, was to learn how the boys lived, what they fed on, what it cost them to live and how they could be best reached." [1]

To claim for all Ragged School teachers such initiative as Hogg's would assume too much; yet these incidents illustrate the spirit exhibited by pioneers. The winter following his shoe-blacking experience, Hogg's work began in earnest. He opened fire in a room off the Strand, renting at £12 a year.[2] At first this institution ran only as a day school, and, as the young enthusiast had an earnest female teacher in charge, all went well. But this lady's zeal soon urged her to open the room for evening classes, whenever it was not required for Mission purposes. She pressed her case: Hogg consented. The experiment was tried, and Bedlam forthwith broke loose; a free fight between large boys and the police quickly developed. A messenger, consequently, was dispatched post haste to Quintin Hogg, who, at that moment, was ill in bed, at home. Oblivious of his indisposition, Hogg jumped up, pulled on as many clothes as were fashionable in Ragged School environments, and in a moment was rushing, out of breath, to the scene of turmoil. On arrival, the battle was raging furiously; gas fittings had been wrenched from the wall as weapons of assault, broken slates and rungs of chairs were flying in the air: the floor was submerged in a litter of débris. The little "centre of learning" was now a "devastated area." At this moment Hogg, as master of the School, still out of breath and half-naked, rushed into the fray, and mounting a point of vantage, ordered the boys to desist from their uproar. To his own amazement he was obeyed; "in two minutes the police were able to go quietly away."

Hogg there and then learned that he was endowed with "some kind of instinct or capacity for the management of elder boys"; and he was not of the blood who wrap their talents in a napkin and bury them in the ground. In spite of the stormy beginning, therefore, the school continued its night work, and Hogg says: "From that day to 1868, when I had to go abroad for the first time, I scarcely missed the ragged school for a single night." [3]

The progress of Hogg's work was phenomenal. When he

[1] Montague, 250.
[2] Ethel Hogg, *op. cit.*, 50, for picture of this schoolroom.
[3] Montague, 252.

opened the one-room school "no less than five boys came absolutely naked, except for their mother's shawls, which were pinned around them." The first pupils, too, included five separate gangs of thieves. But the scene quickly changed, and so great was the lads' interest that in a few months' time Hogg was compelled to divide the class into two groups of sixty each, one attending from 7 till 8.30, the other from 8.30 till 10 o'clock. Later an additional room was acquired; then he rented the next house at £30 a year; and finally, through a succession of expansions, there emerged from one tiny Ragged School the famous Regent Street Institute, mother of Britain's Polytechnic Education.[1]

Wherever the pioneer work of the British Empire is being done to-day, there, with shoulders to the wheel of progress, stand Barnardo boys, an honour to the institution that mothered them. The writer has been engaged in social work on Canada's frontiers from ocean to ocean; he has laboured among miners, lumbermen, fishermen, prospectors, homesteaders, factory workers and railway builders; yet everywhere, from East to West, on far-flung outposts, he has been confronted with the endeavours of Barnardo boys. For the most part these frontiersmen toil in an environment where no flag is flying and no drum is beating, but they are, none the less, to be numbered among the true builders of Britain—among the real heroes of Empire.[2] By admission, however, of the founder himself, the whole Barnardo System was an offshoot of Ragged Schools. From its earliest inception, indeed, the "Union" encouraged fullest initiative on the part of its teachers, and always it emphasized that its workers were recruited not to boom an institution but to serve humanity. So, therefore, it came about that the Union acted as nursing mother to a hundred new movements which carry on her spirit, though they quite outgrew her control.

Dr. Barnardo, speaking of the Ragged School Movement, in 1893, said: "It has been patronized, then ignored, then

[1] Ethel Hogg, *op. cit.*, chapters iii, iv.

[2] Many old pupils from Ragged Schools, and even more from modern Shaftesbury Missions, stand side by side with Barnardo boys, doing heroic work on the outposts of Empire. The writer is informed by Mr. A. H. Ward, Financial Secretary of the Shaftesbury Society, that from practically every quarter of the world come regular gifts from "old boys" and "life-long friends," who claim they owe every opportunity to the interest taken in them, when urchins, by the "Shaftesbury Society."

criticized, then tolerated, but now it is being imitated, and there are imitations in many ways, even in the statute-books of the nation. There are to-day a thousand activities, a crowd of philanthropic agencies in active operation, but if you ask where they all come from, you find it is not from the House of Lords, or the House of Commons; not even from the palaces of wealth and fashion, but from the humble doors of some coach-house or stable, where began the ragged schools, which have grown and spread out in so marvellous a manner. I say, then, that in the consecrated thought of the ragged school pioneers there is the whole potency and promise of helpfulness and blessing which are now leavening the world in which we live." [1]

"The Ragged School Union," continued Barnardo, "has contained within it the germ which has led to the establishment of most of these useful and beneficial agencies now labouring on behalf of neglected children and of which we are so justly proud." Then, after reviewing certain aspects of the Union's work, this friend of outcast children acknowledged handsomely his own debt: "But to come nearer home, *my own rescue work, the work with which I am personally connected, sprang out of the Ragged School. I am an old ragged school teacher. I am not ashamed of it—I rejoice in it, and I may say that I learned much in those experiences in the ragged school which I would not be without for anything.* I ask then, as we look around and view with alarm, it may be, the existing state of things, where can we find a new inspiration, a new hope? I find it in the ragged schools and kindred movements on behalf of the children of the poorest." [2]

Such was the tribute of a man whose institution, before his death, in 1905, had established over ninety Homes, had rescued and trained 59,384 destitute children, had otherwise assisted no less than 250,000 little ones in want, and had consistently lived up to its slogan—"No destitute child ever refused admission." [3]

[1] Exeter Hall address before R.S.U., 1893; David Williamson, *op. cit.*, 102.

[2] Montague, 245.

[3] *Life of Dr. Barnardo*, by Mrs Barnardo and James Merchant (1907): also *Dr. Barnardo: the Foster-Father of Nobody's Children* (1904), and *60th Annual Report of Barnardo's Homes*. These Homes have now sent 30,000 children to the Overseas Dominions, 98 per cent. of whom have "made good." Barnardo, though many years the junior of Shaftesbury, enjoyed his warm friendship and support.

Often Shaftesbury said: "I would rather be President of the Ragged School Union than govern Empires," and no words sprang more spontaneously from his soul; they carried with them no suggestion of the stage phrase; yet never had he dreamed that one day a great public honour would be paid him through the organization of Ragged School folk. Such, however, was the case. On his eightieth birthday, in the Guildhall, London, the Lord Mayor presiding, a great demonstration was organized by the Ragged School Union, and scores of thousands of London's poor children, together with costermongers, flower-girls, factory workers, ex-chimney sweeps, and other emancipated workers, thronged to the scene, that they might cast flowers in the Earl's way, or catch a sight of his care-worn, yet kindly, face. But, in addition to this multitude representing millions of the once-disinherited, whose lives Shaftesbury had blessed, there were also present outstanding national characters. In truth, the demonstration was a people's tribute to the endeavours of a man who had brought social redemption to his nation.[1]

To recall the names of all eminent persons who, on his eightieth birthday, paid homage to Shaftesbury's life service, would lead us far afield.[2] A certain item in the celebration, however, deserves attention. One of the Guildhall speakers was W. E. Forster, who passed the Board School Act; and although he and the Earl by no means saw eye to eye on all clauses of that Bill, the two men met as old and trusted friends: both leaders of popular education: both champions of the oppressed. Forster's tribute to Shaftesbury was simple and sincere, and on that account the Earl cherished it as one of the happiest memories of his last years: "I remember," said Forster, "when I first went to Yorkshire, I was struck by the feeling of distrust—I might almost say hatred—on the part of the work-people toward the employers. . . . These things are, however, entirely changed, and Yorkshire is in consequence vastly improved. Now what has caused this change? Other men were connected with the matter, but *no man was so prominently connected with it as Lord Shaftesbury*. . . . The good

[1] Long editorial on Shaftesbury, *Times*, April 29, 1881.

[2] Shaftesbury, on this occasion, received congratulatory letters in hundreds from famous men, including the Prime Minister, and Poet Laureate; but nothing moved him so much as messages from tiny Ragged school children who loved him.

conduct on the part of the population was in a great measure due to the moderating influences which were brought to bear on them by Lord Ashley. How I wish that all agitators, when they are advocating the removal of great and real grievances, *would take an example from the way in which Lord Ashley conducted that agitation*, and remember with what care they should consider both the immediate and the ultimate effect of what they say upon those who are suffering." [1]

Before death, Shaftesbury received innumerable compliments more flattering than Forster's: yet this dispassionate tribute from the mouth of a manufacturer, an educationist and a friend of the people came with special force; and Shaftesbury considered it one of the greatest testimonials to his life-work. The reason for this satisfaction is simple. Never did Shaftesbury cherish a desire to be brilliant or sensational, and he was always suspicious of merely brilliant or sensational compliments: moreover, he had no confidence in class warfare as a remedy for social injustice; but he had an impelling faith in Christian Brotherhood, and it was in the strength of this faith he carried on his agitation for human betterment. The father of Britain's Board School System, therefore, Shaftesbury felt, was paying tribute not so much to him personally as to the religious spirit which inspired and sustained his whole crusade; and that thought rejoiced his heart.

Forster's tribute refers to the most historic struggle of Shaftesbury's career, and that struggle we shall now follow. But, in leaving Ragged Schools behind, we recall an estimate of their accomplishments by Lord Aberdeen: "In London alone at least 300,000 of the youth of both sexes have been rescued from the ranks of the criminal and dangerous classes, and made good and useful citizens, loyal and faithful subjects of Her Majesty." [2]

In view of these facts, it need scarcely be suggested that, if any fair reference be made to the "twilight of the Ragged Schools," all "pious and dutiful" epithets of patronage must be dropped.[3] It must be remembered that the twilight of Ragged Schools was not the semi-darkness which mourns the light of day; but rather was it the peeping of a new and glorious light over moorlands dark and grey; it was the twilight

[1] Hodder, iii. 423–4; Montague, 20.
[2] *Times*, April 29, 1881.
[3] See opening paragraph of preceding chapter.

that tells of *birth*, *not death* : it was the glimmer of the breaking morn, which ushers in a flood of noon-day light.[1]

Twenty-six years after the birth of the Ragged School Union, through a series of rapid progressions, came the Board School Act and popular education.[2]

[1] For an account of "Shaftesbury Society and Ragged School Union" after the Earl's death, see *Sir John Kirk*, by David Williamson (1922). Kirk became "Secretary" of the Union in 1879, and enjoyed the confidence and co-operation of the Earl.

[2] At Shaftesbury's last address before the Union's Annual Meeting he exclaimed : "So long as any ragged children remain in our land, so long must you have a Ragged School system. How long the Government of the country, and the wiseacres of the country, were before they came to the national system of education in 1870! Before that time I heard comments on the Ragged School system, but I invariably replied, 'I do not claim it to be perfect, *but we are acting while you are deliberating ; we are doing something while you are doing nothing*'" (*In Memoriam*, 19).

CHAPTER XIII

THE TEN HOURS BILL—FIRST ROUND OF THE STRUGGLE

"MOLOCH is more merciful than Mammon!"[1] Such was Southey's verdict in comparing the lot of human beings offered in sacrifice to a pagan God with that of children slain by lingering process, on the altars of "industrial advancement." And these, be it remembered, were not the words of the young and penniless sentimentalist who, along with Coleridge, had once dreamed of a Utopia on the Susquehanna's bank; they expressed rather the mature conviction of a Tory pensioner, who died worth £12,000. Again, in 1844, the year after Southey's death, appeared Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children";[2] and the picture there drawn around the grave of Little Alice, a factory child, points the same stinging rebuke:

> "It is good when it happens," say the children,
> "That we die before our time."

Shaftesbury's intimacy with conditions of factory life at that period only intensifies this tale of woe. In the early days of his fight against factory oppression, on a trip of inspection to Bradford (1838) he requested that factory cripples be gathered together in a public court:[3] and more than eighty persons, whose bodies were mutilated by factory toil, assembled to meet him. The Earl's description is memorable: "They stood or squatted before me in the shapes of the letters of the alphabet. This was the effect of prolonged toil on the tender frames of children at early ages."[4] A generation afterwards he again visited Bradford, and made a similar request: but to his delight

[1] Lucy Taylor, *The Children's Champion*, 53.
[2] 1844 was a year of special agitation. See Chapter XIV.
[3] See evidence of Eliza Marshall, a crippled girl, before Sadler's Committee, 1831, 148 ff.
[4] Hodder, iii. 407.

not a single factory cripple was found. A glorious transformation had taken place; and the guiding spirit behind that transformation was Lord Ashley, who, in 1851, became seventh Earl of Shaftesbury.

To-day, as one studies early conditions of factory life, he feels his blood run cold, and thanks God his age is far removed from such barbarism. Indeed, as he examines industrial reports and digs into contemporaneous evidence,[1] there rises before his vision a countless army of children, young, yet strangely old; for they are bowed, maimed and broken by the weight of the chains that bind them to their toil. Then, behind the children, emerges a multitude of women, lean, stooped and bleeding; none is old in years, yet none is young in looks; the fire that should have brightened their eyes has grown dim; many are mothers, but they have been denied the joys of motherhood: they have been robbed of time to fondle their babies at their breast, or teach the infant lips to pray; thirteen to sixteen hours a day they have kept pace with the slave army, and when, in the dark hours, they are at last permitted to return to the hovels they call "home," they are too utterly fatigued to do anything save eat, drink and sleep. Men too are in this procession; not a few of them coarse, hard men, brutalized by rum, ignorance and filth; they have grown accustomed to looking upon their wives and children as fellow beasts of burden, and not infrequently they compel them to bear the heavier end of the yoke. Yes, it is a ghastly army that rises before the vision, and we shudder as we see the victims dragging blood-stained shackles over dark, stony roads. But, the vision departed, we are apt to console ourselves by vaguely imagining that this is an aspect of an age long since passed, that it is one of the blackest horrors of the "Dark Ages," when slavery and serfdom were rife.

Ah no! The sun of several centuries had set over the "Dark Ages" before the army of the Industrial Revolution began its weary pace. This treadmill army was marking time in the age of science, enlightenment and progress. Without the aid of scientific invention factories could never have been built; without the assistance of steamship and train there could have been no ample market for industrial production. The vision of these

[1] *Sadler's Committee Report* (1831–2); *Report of Commissioners* (1833); John Fielden's *Curse of the Factory System* (1836); Philip Grant's *History of Factory Legislation* (1866); J. L. Hammond's *Town Labourer*, etc.

enslaved women and children is contemporaneous with Burke's attempt to deify the English Constitution, and with his panegyrics upon Montesquieu for support in establishing the cult of constitutional idolatry. Yes, with the Dark Ages long since past, with emancipation from the slave trade an accomplished fact, with self-sacrificing missionaries preaching the Gospel in every quarter of the globe, with science playing the rôle of a wizard and proclaiming the emancipation of mankind through the medium of a wondrous skill, with unparalleled inventions hypnotizing the popular mind and advertising "rational progress," with high-powered factories springing up, at mushroom growth, in all parts of the district soon to bear the marks of the "Black Country"; with railways and canals forming a network over England, with leviathans ploughing the seven seas as they carried manufactured products to every world market, with British commerce reigning in splendour as it supplanted the old aristocracy of birth for the new aristocracy of wealth, with country mansions rising to prominence on every hill-side—with all these and other achievements to boast of, a new serfdom was springing up in Britain; for the very Constitution which Burke and his followers accepted as the idol of their devotions was being used, in conjunction with science, as a hammer to rivet the fetters of tyranny around the limbs of women and children.

The treatment of women and children in factories during the Industrial Revolution is not a matter of sentiment or conjecture: it is a coldly established fact. The evidence of many Government Commissions is backed by the testimony of such great employers as Fielden and Wood; and many are the parsons, Sunday School teachers, factory inspectors and doctors, to say nothing of the operatives, whose experience throws light upon the scene.

Such inventions as those of Hargraves and Arkwright revolutionized spinning, and factories accordingly were built in which the newly invented machines were installed. These factories were first erected beside streams providing water power; but as cheap water power was generally found in country districts, far from towns, mill-owners were faced with the problem, how best to acquire an adequate supply of labour. From a pecuniary standpoint they hit on a happy solution. Most factory jobs, they calculated, could be performed as well by children as adults; why not then bring workhouse and orphan children

from the big cities to run new factories by country streams ?[1] This suggestion was acclaimed almost as brilliant as Arkwright's invention ; and no time was lost in putting it into operation. Many thousands of these orphans, varying in age from seven to thirteen years,[2] were bundled off from workhouses in London and other cities as " hands " for the mills.[3] The children were, of course, told that they would be " apprentices " in great manufactories, but " apprenticeship " was a snare ; they were, in reality, factory slaves, and, being orphans or foundlings they were left, at first, with no one to plead their cause.[4] Moreover, the mills, being isolated from centres of population and for many years free from inspection, the public was kept ignorant of the price in human suffering which was being paid for cheap cloth ; and those, therefore, who would have been the children's champions knew nothing of their ills.[5]

In early factories thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, even sixteen hours of labour per day were common enough ; and in rush seasons it was not unusual to work children twenty-four hours without a break, save thirty minutes for dinner, other meals being taken in snatches as the little " hands " continued work. Some mills, however, ran continuously day and night : these employed two sets of children working twelve hours each ; hence the " bunks " were never cold, one gang rolling into bed for rest as the other tumbled out for work. As for *hours* of labour, these children were better off than single shift " hands " ; but the outbreak of contagious diseases in some of these mills defied description.

Girls, as well as boys, were initiated into the mysteries of factory " apprenticeship " ; for the system was no respecter of sex.[6] Lassies must learn their rights and duties on equal terms with lads, and those rights and duties were taught with frequent applications of the lash, which loudly reminded the little innocents that the masters monopolized the rights, while, generously, they

[1] Philip Grant, *History of Factory Legislation*, 7–8.

[2] Some were only five or six years old ; but they were common at seven or eight.

[3] Shaftesbury says these children " were sent down by barge loads into Lancashire from the workhouses in London " (Preface to *Speeches*, iii).

[4] J. Fielden, *Curse of Factory System*, 5–6.

[5] Richard Oastler, for instance, was a zealous fighter for abolition of slave holding in the West Indies ; but it was not till 1830 that he came to realize, through Wood's influence, the horrors of the factory system (Philip Grant, *op. cit.*, 16).

[6] Even " private conveniences " in most early factories made no differentiation for sex, and were in no sense " private." Evidence before Commissioners in this respect is most revolting (Fielden, *op. cit.*, 20).

left the duties to them. Almost every large mill, in early days, had an overseer whose work was to strap the children into subservience; and not infrequently boys were knocked down and beaten.[1] Then, too, it was by no means uncommon for children to become so fatigued in labour that at the end of the day they felt unable to drag their weary limbs to bed, and often they fell down asleep on the mill floor, thus going without supper. John Moss, overseer in a Preston mill, giving evidence before Peel's Committee, 1816, said that he had found children "frequently upon the mill floors, after the time they should have been in bed."[2] Again, if youngsters slept beyond the rising hour, the task-master was at hand to administer a flogging, which at times was accompanied by public humiliation. Robert Arnot, before the 1833 Commission, said "that he had seen boys when too late in the mornings, dragged naked out of their beds by the overseers, and even by the master, with their clothes in their hands, to the mill, where they put them on; that he had seen this done oftener than he can tell; and the boys were strapped naked as they got out of bed."[3] Similar treatment was meted out to girls.

Again, when it is remembered that the overseer's pay was in proportion to the work extracted from these hapless orphans;[4] and that even on Sunday the little victims were sometimes compelled to spend several hours cleaning machinery, it will be seen that scarcely a redeeming feature intervened to break their bondage. The one oasis in this parched desert was the Sunday School, which on the Sabbath offered a little instruction and Christian sympathy to those whose lives were being ground out by ceaseless toil; and society has never yet realized how great is her debt to this voluntary organization of religious zealots for the part they played in breaking industrial serfdom. It was no accident that Shaftesbury was a foremost leader of Sunday School work in all its branches.[5] But what real chance had these institutions, in the environs of the early mills? Most factories

[1] Even the Commission of 1833 contains awful evidence of the "cat" or strap (Section A. 1. 39 of their Report).

[2] Fielden, *op. cit.*, 10.

[3] Section A. 1. 39, 1833 Commission.

[4] This fact is attested by evidence before all early Commissions; Sir Robert Peel, first factory legislator, and father of the great statesman, vouches for it.

[5] Fielden, moreover, as a young man was a Sunday School teacher; while Sadler, Wood, Oastler and Stephens were all devotees of the Evangelical Movement which gave birth to the Sunday School.

were isolated from centres of population. Hence there emerged first the problem of getting teachers to the spot; and secondly, when teachers were at hand, the youngsters were so utterly fatigued they could scarcely keep awake. Hundreds of Sunday School teachers signed petitions protesting against the fatigue inflicted upon factory children whom they tried to instruct; and the semi-religious agitation of such popular champions as Oastler and Rev. Rayner Stephens [1] would have missed fire without the sympathetic atmosphere created by the Sunday School, the sworn champion of the outcast child.

With the progress of factory reform prior to Ashley's arrival on the scene (February 1833) we are not immediately concerned; for up to that date no really vital legislation had yet been passed. However, as, on many occasions, Shaftesbury asserted that without the endeavours of his forerunners he could have accomplished nothing, it behoves us to pause for the briefest review of these antecedent labours.

First, it must be remembered that when Ashley began his struggle, Britain's Statute Books carried no protective legislation whatever for factory workers, save in the case of *cotton* mills; and even that was little more than a dead letter.[2] Nevertheless, public sentiment was being stirred, and already an ominous spirit was afloat, awaiting incarnation. The man who holds the honour of passing the earliest factory legislation is Sir Robert Peel, himself a great cotton manufacturer, and father of the famous Prime Minister. In 1802 Peel passed an Act to protect little "apprentices"; it, however, had no application to any

[1] Joseph Rayner Stephens, a Methodist minister, was Oastler's first lieutenant in the factory fight. He spent eighteen months in gaol because of the vehemence of his agitation. In Stamford Park, serving both Stalybridge and Ashton-under-Lyne, stands a public memorial commemorating his sacrifices. On this monument is inscribed a verse of Stephens's own authorship:

"Scatter the seed, the seed of truth,
Believing it will grow.
Look on the wilderness in ruth,
It was not always so.
A garden once, it may again
A lovely garden be.
It wants the sun, it wants the rain
Of Godlike charity.
We work and wait and toil and trust,
Sure that the end will come.
This wilderness of evil must
Be clothed with heavenly bloom."

One chapel where Stephens ministered is still standing in the heart of industrial Stalybridge. So also is the house where he lived.

[2] Philip Grant, *op. cit.*, 8–34; Hammond, 12.

children save *cotton mill* " *apprentices*," all other youngsters being left " free " to make their own bargains, and work twenty-four hours a day if the masters so desired.[1] This measure limited apprentice labour to twelve hours daily, exclusive of meals, and forbade night work; but the masters greeted it with a storm of protest, crying loudly that they would all be ruined. It was soon discovered, however, that no effective means were provided for enforcement: the Act had no teeth, and because of this deficiency, it was doomed to be worthless. But Peel was a man of strong sympathy and, in 1815, he persisted with his endeavours. By this date, owing to the growth of steam-power mills, the expansion of trade, and the inadequacy of orphan labour, a new problem had arisen. The hand-loom weaver could no longer compete with factory machines and apprentice labour. Consequently as mills, now driven by steam, pressed on from country streams to town and city suburb, the poor weaver, in bitterness of soul, was at last forced by economic pressure to send his own children as fodder for the hated factories—or starve. Thus the *free* children of those who had been self-respecting artisans fell into the lamentable heritage of pauper apprentices; and for these unfortunates there was not yet any legislation, even nominal. To meet this situation Peel worked four years, but although three different Committees were appointed, and much evidence was taken from persons other than workmen,[2] the final issue was disappointing. Peel's 1819 Act applied only to cotton mills; it protected no operative, male or female, over sixteen years of age, and it fixed the hours of children's labour at twelve, exclusive of meals. Yet even this modest advance would have been acceptable if enforced: but as the Act provided no proper arrangements for inspection it met with the same fate as its author's earlier measure. It also became a dead letter.[3]

John Cam Hobhouse next took up the fight, introducing two

[1] Contrary to the impression of Wilberforce left repeatedly by the Hammonds, who take their evidence, almost exclusively, from passionate denunciations by Radical opponents, the Emancipator gave warm support to the protection of factory children. But, in common with not a few other Evangelicals, he desired to go further than Peel. Why confine such legislation to cotton mills only? Why protect only " apprentices," and neglect other children? (Élie Halévy, *History of English People in 1815*, 251–2; Professor R. Coupland, *Wilberforce*, 432–3.)

[2] No evidence was taken from operatives themselves.

[3] Following this 1819 Act, four attempts were made to render it valid, but with little effect (Philip Grant, *History of Factory Legislation*, 9).

Bills : one in 1825 ; the other in 1831. But modest indeed were the results of his endeavour. The former Bill only succeeded in affecting Saturday hours, which it reduced from twelve to nine ; the latter extended the protection of the twelve hours day to all *cotton mill* workers under eighteen. Beyond the cotton industry, however, no factory protection existed at this date ; therefore Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Hammond do well to remind us that when the Reform Bill was passed (1832), " children were left entirely unprotected except in cotton mills, and in these mills children of nine could be made to work twelve hours a day." The same authorities recall the fact that of " effective inspection there was none." [1]

Such then was the position of factory legislation on the eve of Shaftesbury's endeavours. But a new spirit was now brewing, a martial note was in the air and already enthusiastic recruits had joined the cause. Thus, Shaftesbury dates the advance movement as beginning in 1830, the year in which Oastler and Rev. Bull, as well as Walker, Sadler and Wood joined the force.[2] The enlistment of Richard Oastler, who soon was to bear the title, " The Factory Children's King," and later " The Old King," created no small sensation and was of vital influence. Oastler was a man of warm sympathy and boundless enthusiasm into whom the gods had breathed no ordinary powers of vituperative diction. Consequently, he no sooner was converted to the movement,[3] than he sprang hotly into the fray ; and as an experienced worker in the Evangelical campaign against West Indian slavery,[4] the imagery of that fight was quickly transferred to the new cause.

In a speech, delivered September 22, 1830, Rev. R. W. Hamilton panegyrized British liberty : " It is the pride of Britain, that a slave cannot exist on her soil ; and if I read the genius of her constitution aright, I find that slavery is most abhorrent to it—that the air which Britons breathe is free—the ground on which they tread is sacred to liberty." These words provided a text for Oastler, who, inspired by a convert's zeal, lost no time in dispatching an epistle to the press.[5] Exclaiming

[1] *Lord Shaftesbury*, 12.

[2] Preface to *Speeches*, iv.

[3] " Alfred " (Samuel Kydd), *History of Factory Movement*, 95 ff. ; P. Grant, *op. cit.*, 16.

[4] The *slave trade* was abolished in 1807 ; but *slave holding* in West Indies lingered on another quarter century.

[5] This letter first appeared in *Leeds Mercury*, but was widely copied.

that "no heart responded with truer accents" to those words than his own, he proceeded to plead the cause of the factory child, proving that a species of slavery was at that moment existing in England. One paragraph from this letter will illustrate its context: "Thousands of little children, both male and female, but principally female, from seven to fourteen years of age, are daily compelled to labour from six o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening, with only—Britons blush when you read it!—with only thirty minutes allowed for eating and recreation. Poor infants! ye are indeed sacrificed at the shrine of avarice, without even the solace of the negro slave; ye are no more than he is, free agents; ye are compelled to work as long as the necessity of your needy parents may require, or the cold-blooded avarice of your worse than barbarian masters may demand! Ye live in the boasted land of Freedom, and feel, and mourn that ye are slaves, and slaves without the only comfort that the negro has. He knows that it is his sordid, mercenary master's interest that he should live, be strong and healthy. Not so with you. You are doomed to labour from morning to night for one who cares not how soon your weak and tender frames are stretched to breaking!"

Further on, Oastler calls on "the protectors of our rights, chosen by free men to destroy oppression's rod," to rise up and

> Vow one by one, vow altogether, vow
> With heart and voice, eternal enmity
> Against oppression at your brethren's hand;
> Till man nor woman, under Britain's laws,
> Nor son nor daughter born within her empire,
> Shall buy, or sell, or hire, or be a slave.[1]

This letter created great excitement; but whatever attitude people took towards Oastler's language—and none imagined he understated the case—his indictment produced much controversy, and stimulated thought. This, however, was all to the good, for Britons of his day were not ranting when they spoke of Liberty. If once it became established that Oastler's charge was true, then certain it was that in time a bill of ransom would be granted the oppressed.

But, returning to the Commons, the next man to take up the cause was Michael Sadler, Tory Member for Newark, sent to Parliament as an unflinching opponent of Catholic Emancipation.

[1] Grant, *op. cit.*, 17–18.

Yet, however reactionary in this regard, Sadler was a man of staunch heart and fixed principle, who hated the fashionable interpretations of the Malthusian doctrine and the *laissez-faire* theory of economics, with all his soul. To him social abuse and misery could never be justified by appeals to Nature or Providence; the workman, he believed, was more than a "hand"; he was something greater than the machine at which he stood.[1] Hence, dominated by this religious conception, which values personality as incomparably more precious than material wealth, Sadler plunged into the fight for Hobhouse's 1831 Bill. The vigour of his debate impressed the leaders of the workers' Short Time Committees; and forthwith he was requested to become their Parliamentary spokesman. This confidence Sadler accepted with no small sense of responsibility, and bravely did he face the task ahead.

Before that year had run its course, Sadler introduced a Ten Hours Bill, designed to protect not only children in cotton mills, but also those in textile factories. In March 1832, this Bill was given second reading on condition that a Select Committee should examine into the whole question. Sadler himself was Chairman of this Committee, and from its endeavours came the historic Report of 1831–2, known as Sadler's Report, "ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, August 8, 1832." The evidence in this Report is too well known for comment. It throws a flood of light on early factory conditions and forms a classic in industrial history. But already Sadler's Parliamentary days were numbered. A general election intercepted his labours, and when the Reformed Parliament, elected in December 1832, assembled, Sadler was not present. He had fought in Leeds against Macaulay and lost.[2] Consequently the workers' cause, at this critical period, was without a leader in Parliament. Delegates from the Short Time Committees at once took up the hunt, but met with a series of refusals. Theirs was an unpopular cause, and no experienced parliamentarian wanted the task. Even Hobhouse disapproved of the Ten Hours Bill as a "fantastic" measure, for in a letter to Oastler he said it would only "throw an air of ridicule and extravagance over the whole of

[1] Sadler wrote poetry to expound his views, and some of his verses are interesting reading: see, for instance, "The Factory Girl's Last Day" (Holyoake's *Life of J. R. Stephens*, 68–9). This, and much similar evidence, shows how religious zeal, which had abolished the slave trade, was now beginning to be concentrated on the newly discovered "slavery" at home.

[2] Sadler never sat in Parliament again. In 1835 he died, a worn-out man.

this kind of legislation."[1] Finally, however, Rev. G. S. Bull laid the whole matter before Ashley and pleaded with him to accept *immediate* leadership.

Shaftesbury was thunderstruck by this challenge; but before answering he received a respite till the following morning, and, meanwhile, consulted two parliamentary friends, Peach and Scarlett; while afterwards, according to custom, he withdrew himself to prayer and meditation.[2] But the final decision came from his wife.[3] Distrustful of his own ability to lead such a fight, Shaftesbury turned to his life-companion for guidance, and her advice was unmistakable. Hearing from her husband's lips the story of sacrifice which such a choice must necessarily inflict upon herself, Lady Shaftesbury, without hesitation, answered: "It is your duty; the consequences we must leave. Go forward, and to Victory!"[4]

Nearly thirty years after this momentous decision, on August 6, 1860, some 4,000 operatives assembled in Free Trade Hall, Manchester, to present the Countess of Shaftesbury with a marble bust of her husband. It was a touching scene, this devotion of the workers to the man who had sacrificed wealth, leisure and preferment to their cause; but Shaftesbury passed the credit to his wife. Praise, he asserted, was more due to her than to himself. She had inspired him in his activity, and hers were the greater sacrifices of the two.[5]

Such tributes to his wife were perfectly sincere; they had no relation to dress-etiquette, designed for stage occasions. Shaftesbury's Diary shows the unbroken devotion and confidence that ever existed between them as man and wife. To a remarkable degree their lives were blended together, and the outpouring of Shaftesbury's soul when his wife died shows the sublimity of their affection. His entry, October 15, 1872, speaks of her as "the purest, gentlest, kindest, sweetest, and most confiding spirit that ever lived"; then he adds: "Oh, my God, what a blow! . . . What do I not owe to her, and to Thee, O God, for the gift of her?"[6] Nine days later, writing to Lady Gainsborough, he says: "During the long space of forty years that God, in His special and undeserved mercy, allowed me to live in union with that inestimable woman, there was an increase

[1] Grant, *Ten Hours Bill*, 28. [2] Hodder, i. 148–9.

[3] In 1830 Ashley married Lady Emily Cowper, daughter of Lord Cowper, a prominent Whig, and niece of Melbourne.

[4] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 24. [5] Hodder, iii. 111–12. [6] *Ibid.*, iii. 314.

and no abate ent of love on either side." Later he exclaimed: "I am astounded and dazed to find myself without her. She was my earthly mainstay, and cheered almost every moment of my existence by the wonderful combination of truth, simplicity, joyousness of heart and purity of spirit. She was a sincere, sunny and gentle follower of our Lord; and almost the last words that fell from her lips were, 'None but Christ.'"[1] The tablet Shaftesbury placed in the village Church of Wimborne, St. Giles, bears similar tribute: "To the Memory of a wife, as good, as true, and as deeply beloved, as God, in His undeserved mercy, ever gave to man."[2]

From these and similar eulogies we ascertain Shaftesbury's own valuation of the woman who urged him forward at the moment demanding, perhaps, the most vital decision of his career. "Go forward and to Victory!" Such were the words of the Countess of Shaftesbury to the man she loved; and in that phrase rang the earnest of her sustained support.[3]

When Bull laid the proposition of the Short Time Committees before Ashley he urged immediate action, on the ground that opponents would otherwise bring in a Bill to defeat their ends.[4] Hence, backed by his wife's encouragement, Shaftesbury lost no time in mastering the situation. He pledged his utmost support to the workers' cause and they, in turn, agreed that all their propaganda "should be carried on in the most conciliatory manner; that there should be a careful abstinence from all approach to questions of wages and capital; that the hours of children and young persons should alone be touched;[5] that there should be no strikes, no intimidation, and no strong language against their employers, either within or without the walls of Parliament."[6] This mutual agreement as to the spirit in which the fight should be waged was difficult of enforcement;

[1] Hodder, iii. 315.

[2] *Ibid.*, 314.

[3] Shaftesbury's religion enabled him to bear his grief with remarkable courage; for now he threw himself with even greater zeal into his many labours. Compare this experience with that of Francis Place, who had no religious faith, and who, after his wife's death, was practically useless until he made a second marriage (Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*).

[4] Hodder, iii. 149.

[5] Shaftesbury's speeches make it plain that the strategy of his campaign was to procure shorter hours for *men* only indirectly, by protecting all females of every age, and all males under eighteen, thus making it impossible for mills to carry on when this huge army of workers was removed. Therefore male adults would actually be protected too.

[6] *Speeches*, iv.

for, before the battle was won, feelings were stirred to their depths. But on the whole the contract was kept, and repeatedly Shaftesbury praised the workmen for their splendid self-control. True, such popular leaders as Oastler and Stephens, in the heat of enthusiasm, sometimes got beyond bounds, and Fielden's Radicalism occasionally domineered over his better sense: still these indiscretions were the exception, not the rule; for to the end of the campaign, with one or two important departures, Shaftesbury enjoyed the confidence, esteem and loyal support of both agitators and workmen. Extreme Radicals, to be sure, were inclined to look upon him as too cautious; but this suspicion may be pardoned, because they knew nothing of the difficulties of constitutional procedure. Shaftesbury, on the other hand, was extremely well versed in this subject, and though he worked incessantly, and with boundless initiative, he never lost sight of the fact that a sense of moderation was fundamental to success.

On February 5, 1833, Shaftesbury stood before the Reformed Commons to give notice of a motion for the renewal of Sadler's Bill; and, the following month, he was afforded a first reading of his measure. Ashley's Bill was almost identical with Sadler's. Its chief provisions were, that no child was to be employed under nine years of age; that no person under eighteen should be engaged more than ten hours a day, or more than eight hours on a Saturday; and that no person under twenty-one was to be employed at night—7 p.m. till 6 a.m.[1] The difference between the two Bills was that the first draft of Ashley's measure included a clause making a third offence against its provisions punishable by imprisonment. This clause was very popular both among Yorkshire operatives and their chief leaders, Oastler, Stephens and Bull; but the more conservative feeling of Lancashire, led by Doherty, Grant, Sadler and Wood, was that this imprisonment clause would permanently prejudice the Bill. Hence, on their advice, in spite of some opposition, Shaftesbury expressed his willingness to withdraw the debated clause.[2]

The omens of the Reformed Parliament towards factory legislation were not altogether ill. The new Commons was overwhelmingly Liberal in complexion, and not a few Members

[1] B. L. Hutchins and A. Harrison, *History of Factory Legislation*, 51; J. L. Hammond, *Shaftesbury*, 25.

[2] P. Grant, *History of Factory Legislation*, 52–3; Hutchins and Harrison, *op. cit.*, 55; J. L. Hammond, *op. cit.*, 29.

desired to mitigate the hardships of factory life; but in the way of all reform lay two persistent obstacles. The first expressed itself in the dogmatic doctrines of political science, demanding freedom from all Government restraint; the second took shelter under perennial cant about the "iron laws of economics." Many manufacturers, therefore, dominated by these creeds, believed that the success of the nation's trade was inextricably associated with long hours of juvenile toil.[1] Thus the Government found itself "between the devil and the deep sea." Not a few of its members desired to show humanity toward operatives, but through the influence of economic maxims, they feared that such humanity would undermine industry. What then was to be done? Could the House dare to throw out Ashley's Bill and offer no substitute? Was Ashley the man to turn back, having once put his hand to the plough? The more the Commons pondered, the more it was convinced that some step was imperative. Consequently the obvious solution was hit upon. Claiming that Sadler's Committee was partial to workers and unfair toward manufacturers, the Government decided to appoint a new Commission to inquire into the whole question and report for its guidance; while, of course, it was taken for granted that any new legislation must be based upon the findings of this Commission.

Under these conditions, on June 17, 1833, Ashley's Bill was allowed a second reading; but, naturally, it created little stir. The Government had planned its action and had no intention of wasting ammunition, until it could fortify itself behind the new report. Nor did it have long to wait. The Commission included men of marked ability who worked top speed;[2] consequently when Ashley (July 18th) was allowed to proceed with his Bill in Committee, Althorp had the Government Commissioners' Report in his hand, and "urged the House to reject the Bill of the noble Lord, and adopt one founded on the report of the Royal Commission."[3]

The Report of this Commission is by no means a reactionary document,[4] for though much more conservative in tone than Sadler's, it nevertheless exposed many factory evils, and contained

[1] See Cobbett's biting satire in Debate on Ashley's Bill, July 18, 1833, H. of C.

[2] Two of these Commissioners, Chadwick and Southwood Smith, were later associated with Shaftesbury in Public Health work.

[3] Grant, *op. cit.*, 53.

[4] *Report of Commissioners on Employment of Children in Factories, 1833.*

valuable data regarding the ill-treatment of children. This Commission had been specially appointed to discredit Sadler's Report and to defend manufacturers against the charge of inhumanity. But it is doubtful if its instigators were satisfied with the result. True, the Commissioners had considerable to say about paid agitators who made a trade of propaganda; and they threw not a little doubt upon the impartiality of Sadler's Report.[1] However, as Ashley's opponents scanned the new document for defensive evidence, they must have been embarrassed by the amount of matter therein discovered which, under no circumstances could be construed to support a policy of inaction. Compromise was therefore inevitable.

Consequently, in the final debate on Ashley's Bill, Althorp, following the Commissioners' lead, took the ground that whereas Ashley's measure was too lenient towards "adults," between thirteen and eighteen, it was, nevertheless, too severe on children between nine and thirteen. The 1833 Commissioners contended that the age of thirteen marks the dawn of maturity and brings greatly augmented power of physical endurance. Thus Althorp protested that from thirteen no protection was really needed, while as for children under this age, he assumed a greater concern than Ashley.[2] In a word, the Government drew a magic line at thirteen; on one side, it claimed, was innocent childhood requiring marked protection, on the other was the strength of maturity, which really needed no protection.

Althorp's argument in fact was an ingenious way of questioning Ashley's Bill, without challenging the humane principles upon which it was based. Indeed, Althorp feigned a humanity greater than Ashley's; he would afford a still larger protection to those who really were children: but for all thirteen or over, really "adults," he favoured "freedom of contract" to work what hours they chose. Under these conditions, with the new Commission behind him, and promising a better Bill in its stead, Althorp secured an overwhelming majority against Ashley's measure.[3] Ashley generously accepted inevitable defeat, forthwith praying the Government to bring forward a Bill of their own that should result in real blessing to factory workers. Thus, with Ashley urging him on, but cherishing no enthusiasm

[1] Workmen showed bitter hostility toward this 1833 Commission, thinking its members to be puppets of the manufacturers.

[2] Hansard, July 18, 1833, H. of C.

[3] Commons divided, 238 *against*, 93 *for* Ashley's Bill.

for his task, Althorp introduced the famous Factory Bill of 1833.

This Act, everybody knew, was a forced measure.[1] Ashley's Bill must be side-tracked ; and the Act of 1833 was a compromise offered in its place. Althorp and his associates would gladly have been excused from doing anything ; under the circumstances they desired to do as little as possible ; but in reality they accomplished more than they thought. For children under thirteen, this Act limited hours to forty-eight per week, and nine per day ;[2] though it was three years before this clause came fully into force.[3] Youths under eighteen were not to be employed more than twelve hours daily, or sixty-nine hours a week, and factory children were to attend school two hours a day. In addition, the Act provided four full-time inspectors, armed with powers to make their influence effective.[4] These inspectors at first were treated with suspicion by factory workers. The *Leeds Intelligencer*, for instance, when feeling was running high, gave expression to popular sentiment: "The inspectorships are a lumbering affair, and will turn out in practice, we suspect, a nullity ; their chief recommendation with their projectors is probably the patronage they afford."[5] Again, Bull asserted that "if these inspectors, in whose appointment the mill-owners will have due influence, should take the sides of their patrons and masters, so extensive, so arbitrary are their powers that we shall want nothing but the torture-room to complete their character and office as factory inquisitors."[6]

Shaftesbury gave expression to no such sentiments. He was critical of the Act, but, nevertheless, he determined to give it a fair chance. While Fielden, Owen and Cobbett were jumping at rash conclusions and organizing strikes ; and while Oastler, Stephens and Bull treated the measure with suspicion or contempt, Shaftesbury, an astute parliamentarian, carefully studied the working of the Act, resolved to make the most of whatever benefits it could confer. And, following such a course, he

[1] Shaftesbury, *Children in Factories*, July 20, 1834, H. of C.

[2] P. Grant, *op. cit.*, 53. Silk mills were made an exception to the ruling of the Act.

[3] Before this clause came fully into force, Poulett Thomson (March 1836) introduced an amendment designed to deprive all children over eleven of its protection. Shaftesbury spiritedly opposed this move, and though Thomson received a majority of two votes, he accepted the verdict as a defeat.

[4] Hammonds' *Shaftesbury*, 35 (footnote), on influence of inspectors.

[5] *Leeds Intelligencer*, Aug. 10, 1833.

[6] Hutchins and Harrison, *op. cit.*, 56.

proved himself wiser than his associates; for the strikes ended only in disaster, while, on the other hand, as time went on, it became increasingly evident that the 1833 Act, if enforced, established three principles of vital importance. Hence Bull, early in 1836, voicing Evangelical sentiment, implored the workers to "hold fast, as for life itself, to the eight hours clause, the education clause and the inspection clause of the present Act." [1]

In these three principles, though Althorp little realized it, lay the seed of future legislation.

Ashley, however, was temporarily punished for his moderation. His willingness to stand aside and give Althorp's Bill a chance was interpreted by the Radical wing as fatal weakness. Indeed, so far did resentment proceed that, in 1835, Ashley was displaced by Hindley, a Stalybridge manufacturer, as Parliamentary leader.[2] The change, however, was not a happy one, and when, the following spring, Poulett Thomson introduced his reactionary amendment, the workers' delegates requested Ashley, not Hindley, to lead their fight. This he did with energy, and without any resentment of shabby treatment. Consequently as the year 1836 wore on, and Hindley's guidance accomplished nothing, Ashley was asked to resume the leadership. In fact it was now dawning upon turbulent lieutenants that his well-considered methods were no mean friends to the crusade. One of the delegates who decided for Ashley's return to command, gave neat expression to his lordship's constancy: "If there is one man in England more devoted to the interests of the factory people than another it is Lord Ashley—we may always rely upon him as a ready, steadfast and willing friend." [3]

Early in 1837 Shaftesbury made preparations to proceed with his Bill; but the obstacles were titanic. The Government, led by Melbourne, was extremely lethargic, and industry was experiencing exceptional depression. Hence, by consent of the workers' delegates, the Bill was withdrawn. But, biding his time for Parliamentary action, Ashley lost no opportunity of furthering the cause. Repeatedly he visited large factories and familiarized himself with industrial conditions; in Parliament he stood on guard against reactionary legislation, and out of Parliament he resorted to numerous means of keeping agitation alive. The public platform constantly re-echoed his message;

[1] Hammond, *op. cit.*, 38.
[2] *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, Dec. 5 and 12, 1835.
[3] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1836.

the press in turn took up the refrain; not a few articles for periodicals were penned by his own hand; while, also, readers of letters in *The Times* were frequently reminded that Ashley and his Crusade were much alive.

By summer, 1838, though industrial depression was still acute, and Melbourne's tranquil administration was yet in office, Ashley felt that he could hold silence in Parliament no longer. Therefore, on July 20th, by a rousing speech, he tried to force the Government's hand and shame it into activity. Quoting inspectors' reports, he showed that Althorp's Act had been flagrantly and systematically violated "with advantage to the rich and tremendous consequences to the poor." Yet the Legislature, "perfectly aware of those violations," had connived at them.[1] The truth is that Reports of the Government's own inspectors had proved too strong for its taste, and were set aside with silent contempt. However, if the Administration was determined to treat these Reports as a *corpus mortuum* to be buried in the dusty depths of oblivion, the workers' leader was determined to disinter and dissect the corpse. From inspectors' evidence Shaftesbury showed that magistrates were constantly mitigating, even nullifying, legal penalties; and that, in not a few instances, mill-owners sat in judgment on factory cases, Horner, a capable inspector, cited an instance "of a mill-owner sitting as a magistrate on an information presented against his own sons, as tenants of a mill of which he was proprietor." In another case a mill-owner "had adjudicated upon an information filed against his own brother."[2] Naturally, in all such instances, magistrates had either dismissed the charges or "awarded the lowest penalties which the law enabled them to impose, and this too in cases where the sentences were being passed for a second and even a third offence."[3]

Again, the 1833 Act, as we have seen, made it illegal for children under thirteen to work more than forty-eight hours a week, and medical certificates were required to establish the age of those in doubt; but to overcome this difficulty surgeons had been instructed not to ask the age of children applying for certificates, but to pass all who had attained the height of 4 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It was found, however, by measurement in certain mills that a few children had attained this height when

[1] Lord John Russell here cried out, "No! No!" (H. of C., July 20, 1838).
[2] *Children in Factories* 8. [3] *Ibid.*

nine years of age, and that at 11 or 12 years it was common. Shaftesbury, illustrating this abuse, quoted the Member for Oldham, a manufacturer who had taken measurements of all children in his own mill, and found that of the 103 between 9 and 13 years of age, 57 had reached or exceeded the stipulated height. This instruction to surgeons, consequently, was cheating the Act. Indeed, Inspector Horner asserted that " he was fully persuaded that one half the children now working under a surgeon's certificate that they were 13 years old, were, in fact, not more than 12, and many not more than 11." [1] So farcical was the Government's enforcement of the 1833 Act that up till 1838 factory children had paid nearly three times as much for surgeon's age certificates as magistrates had levied upon mill-owners in fines. Each child had to pay 6d. for his certificate,[2] and by 1838, almost £12,000 had been so expended ; but during that same period fines levied by magistrates had totalled only £4,422, and from 1836 to 1837 the average fine had dropped from £2 5s. to £1 10s.[3]

Regarding the education clauses of the Act, Shaftesbury contended that they were openly violated on every hand, and that even when an attempt was made to observe them, the schooling provided was " a mere mockery of instruction." [4] But it was in the conclusion of his speech, before moving a vote of censure on the Government, that Shaftesbury drove home his sting. He rejoiced that the British Parliament, in its mercy, had abolished the slave trade and emancipated all slaves throughout the Empire ; [5] but he contended that one-fifth of the time spent by the House on this problem would have proved sufficient to solve the ills of factory life. Hence, the rebuke : " When the House in its wisdom and mercy decided that 45 hours in a week was a term of labour long enough for an adult negro, he thought it would not have been unbecoming that spirit of lenity if they had considered *whether 69 hours a week were not too many for the children of the British Empire.*" [6]

[1] *Children in Factories*, 13.

[2] In some cities boys over thirteen made a business of going from doctor to doctor for age certificates, and selling them at handsome profit to children under age.

[3] *Children in Factories*, 7–10.

[4] *Ibid.*, 10.

[5] Abolition of the slave trade, 1807 ; emancipation of all slaves, August 1833.

[6] *Op. cit.*, 13. Many youngsters eleven years old were working 69 hours per week in protected factories

This speech was not without effect in rousing the Government to responsibility for law enforcement; but the fact is, the Ten Hours Bill was no longer the centre of agitation in the labouring world. The People's Charter had now captivated the imaginations of many Ten-Hour agitators, and Shaftesbury was left with little support from workmen's organizations. Yet never did he waver from his course. He had little sympathy with the Chartists' premature demands, but he had complete sympathy with their revolt against the sufferings behind those demands. Therefore he believed it ill became him to point the finger of contempt at his misguided brethren. If to him had been given a greater measure of light than to his less-privileged fellows, he felt it his duty to use that light for the benefit of those groping in darkness; if others left the highway of practical accomplishment to revel in the unattainable, he conceived his task to be all the clearer; he must march resolutely forward and turn not aside from the goal ahead.

Under pressure, the Government, in 1839, introduced a new Factory Bill; and considerable debate followed, in the course of which Shaftesbury fought hard to win protection for silk mills. But finally this Bill was withdrawn without practical result.[1] The following year, however, found the workers' champion on the trail chopping his way toward higher ground. While many of his lieutenants were still dazed by the Charter, he determined to find ways and means of procuring greater publicity concerning working conditions; for he well knew that weight of evidence could alone force the hand of a reluctant Parliament. Hence he set out to obtain two Commissions, one to investigate the working of the 1833 Act, the other to inquire into the condition of children in mines and other industries "not protected by the Factory Acts."[2] This perseverance was rewarded. Both Commissions were granted and both did splendid work; but the importance of the latter overshadows the former, for the findings of this second Commission provided the evidence by which Shaftesbury freed women and children from the slavery of the mines.

The speech whereby Shaftesbury moved for this Commission is an interesting revelation of conditions prevailing in industries

[1] In this year, 1839, Stephens was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for strong language; and the year following Oastler was jailed for debt and detained three years.

[2] H. of C., August 4, 1840.

unprotected by law. Wisely the speaker prefaced his evidence by suggesting that a nation's greatness must ever be rooted "in the character and condition of its children," for "as the sapling has been bent so will it grow"; but few were the introductory sentences preceding the substance of this address. Shaftesbury knew well that his data would voice his most eloquent plea, and he was quick to present it.[1] In tobacco manufactories children of seven were working more than twelve hours a day; in bleaching trades youngsters were at work during all hours of the day or night, as suited the masters' convenience; in frame-work knitting, kiddies, from six years upwards, were labouring sixteen hours a day "in very low and confined shops"; while card setting, calico-printing and other industries were equally severe. But cruel as was the lot of children engaged in such manufactures, conditions in the pin-making industry were still worse, because here a subtle form of child-slavery flourished under protection of law.

To foster a supply of child labour in pin factories, masters resorted to the custom of lending money to parents on the credit of their children's toil; with the result that hapless youngsters became legally bound to pay off their parents' debt. Hence for drunken, degenerate parents the temptation of money in advance was too great to be resisted; and so the custom flourished. Ashley, to make the process clear, quoted a commissioner: "A very ordinary practice is for the master to send for the parents or guardians, offer them an advance of money, an irresistible temptation, and then to extract a bond *which the magistrates enforce*, that the repayment of the loan shall be effected through the labour of the child. A child of tender age can rarely earn more than ninepence to one shilling a week. Thus the master becomes bodily possessor of the children as his *bona-fide* slaves, and works them according to his pleasure." But this abuse was carried still farther: "If he (the pin-factory owner) continues with the employment to pay wages, and keeps the loan hanging over the head of the parents, who do not refuse to take the wages, yet cannot repay the loan, the master may keep possession of the child as his slave for an indefinite time. This is done to a great extent; the relieving officer has tried in vain

[1] Ashley did not get a chance to speak till late in the day (Aug. 4th); consequently he had a thin House, consisting almost exclusively of Whigs and Radicals. Of Conservatives "but three or four came" (Hodder, i. 307).

to break through the iniquitous practice; but it seems the magistrates have power to do it." [1]

The form of contract between parents and masters of pin factories is noteworthy. The following, copied from an actual document, is typical:

I, Mary U——, do hereby hire and engage my daughter B. U——, to work for V—— and W——, for the term of Two Years, Sundays excepted, at sheeting pins, from this fifth day of January 1836.

As witness my hand and name,
Witness—V. W—— Mary U——
X her mark.[2]

As for the education of children in unprotected industries, Shaftesbury showed that the Sunday School was the only organization making any real attempt to minister to their needs; and it was labouring under grievous disadvantages.

The years 1841 and 1842 found Ashley absorbed in the work of Commissions, and in passing the famous Mines and Collieries Bill, which shall be considered later. But even in these arduous times he was still accumulating ammunition for the Ten Hours Cause.[3] Personal inquiry was always his primary source of information; but this was augmented from other channels. Pointed questions, for instance, put to men of experience could elicit valuable information; and he made ample use of this method in accumulating data. The long pamphlet of Sir Charles Shaw, Superintendent of Police for Manchester, published in 1842 and entitled, "Replies to Lord Ashley, M.P., concerning the Moral and Physical Condition of the Labouring Classes," contained expert evidence, which Ashley turned to good service. In this pamphlet Shaw pointed out that self-government in manufacturing towns meant little else than "placing the government of those towns in the hands of the proprietors of the factories." [4] In Manchester, he contended, "public good was almost forgotten," because municipal authorities looked upon the public "as they did upon the workmen in their establishments"—a means "to carry out their own purposes." Owners of factories, he asserted, were frequently Justices of the Peace,

[1] *Speeches*, 21–2; Hansard, H. of C., August 4, 1840.
[2] *Ibid.*, 30, for several of these contracts.
[3] 1842 marked a period of commercial panic, and the hard times following gave new stimulus to Chartism (Hodder, i. 443–4; Hutchins and Harrison, 66.
[4] *Replies of Sir Charles Shaw to Lord Ashley*, 25.

and therefore "it was in vain to make a complaint against a master, as all the masters were either directly or indirectly bound together." But even if an operative did procure a favourable decision, the mill-owners made it so uncomfortable for him that Shaw declared any such person a doomed man.[1] Moreover, he asserted that although local authorities boasted that they "received no salary," nevertheless, by obliging friends, "they made the situation pay very well."[2] The result of this pernicious policy was that the working classes had come to consider "justice a lottery." Such conditions, needless to say, ate at Shaftesbury's soul; for his supreme desire, as a statesman, was to make Government a real vehicle of Christian justice.[3]

On February 28, 1843, shortly after the publication of the Second Report of the Children's Employment Commission,[4] Shaftesbury made a vigorous speech in Parliament, pressing upon the Government the immediate need of an efficient system of moral and religious education among the labouring classes. He declared that the indiscretions of Chartism were as much due to Peel as O'Connor, and that the Government's vacillating policy toward social ills could breed only revolt.[5] The plain duty of Parliament, he asserted, was to remove the abuses breeding misery and revolution; and not least among them was the gruesome ignorance to which so many workmen were subjected. This conclusion Ashley illustrated by many phenomena. For instance, Birmingham police returns 1841, showed that of 5,556 persons taken into custody that year, only 206 could read and write well, and 2,711 could neither read nor write at all.[6] Again, he pressed upon the Government the necessity of effort to check the curse of intemperance; while, also, he demanded that the "truck system,"[7] the mother of much injustice, should be abolished by law.[8]

[1] *Op. cit.*, 12.

[2] *Ibid.*, 44–5.

[3] During this same year, 1842, in "Reply to the Lancashire Short Time Committee," which wished him God-speed and pledged renewed allegiance, Shaftesbury re-stated the principles of the conflict, and pled for abstinence from all class hatred, as they persevered towards their goal.

[4] *Parl. Papers*, 1843, xv. 105–6.

[5] "Education of Working Classes" (*Speeches*, 73).

[6] *Speeches*, 66.

[7] Shaftesbury claimed that "the grossest frauds, the subtlest tricks and the most dishonest evasions" were "habitually practised" under the truck system (*Speeches*, 80).

[8] See Debate following Ashley's motion, Hansard, Ser. 3, lxvii. 75–144. Graham, Russell, Grey and Peel all took part in this debate, which rose magnificently above party animosity.

Shortly after this speech Sir James Graham introduced the Government's new Factory Act, the outstanding provision of which was compulsory education for factory children, under "Church" supervision. Naturally, a storm of protest now rose from the Nonconformist camp; for whereas Dissenters had been pioneers in establishing Sunday Schools and other forms of education among the working population,[1] they now believed that their interests were being handed over to the Established Church. The Administration, accordingly, put forth efforts to calm the troubled waters by making certain concessions to Nonconformists, but in so doing they only offended the Establishment, particularly the Anglo-Catholic section: consequently, the Government's position growing too warm for its liking, it decided to withdraw the 1843 Bill, promising that, the following year, it would introduce a new measure more in harmony with popular demand.

In February 1844, therefore, the Administration knowing well that Ashley would not allow it to forget its pledge, the promised measure was introduced. But the introduction of this Bill, with its significant consequences, brings us to the second round of the Ten Hours struggle.

[1] Cf. Sunday School efforts of Wesley and early Evangelicals, establishment of Royal Lancastrian Society, of British and Foreign School Society, and finally of Ragged School Union and Barnardo's Homes. It should, however, be remembered that although the pioneer work of popular education was almost wholly done by Evangelicals, a large section of that party was inside the Establishment, and thus a bond of fellowship was created with Nonconformity. But the rise of the Oxford Movement, with its frigidity towards Protestantism, naturally increased the suspicions of Nonconformists regarding the Establishment, and made educational co-operation more difficult.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GREAT FIGHT AND APPARENT VICTORY

OF all arduous years in Shaftesbury's arduous career none was more consumed by unremitting endeavour than 1844. In and out of Parliament, he was constantly engaged. During this year the Ragged School Union was formed, and it occupied no inconsiderable portion of its President's time. The same year Shaftesbury pleaded the cause of lunatics with such consummate skill as to suggest that this was the one subject dear to his heart. Nevertheless, somehow he found time to visit the factory districts and make numerous speeches; while, not infrequently, he occupied the chair at meetings of various religious and philanthropic societies: and always he made his contribution to the discussions in hand. Yet, in spite of all such endeavours, 1844 marks the most animated and sustained debate on the Ten Hours Bill that the whole fight records; and Ashley was central figure in the fray.[1]

The Government's first Factory Bill of 1844 dropped the hotly contested educational clauses introduced the previous year, leaving instruction of factory children to factory schools and religious organizations; but in treatment of women, this measure marked decided advance: it stipulated that women of all ages were to be classed as "young persons," and as such protected.[2] In its administrative clauses, too, the Bill indicated progress, for it incorporated various suggestions of Factory Inspectors and strove to abolish relay labour. Regarding hours of toil, however, both Graham and Peel were adamant. They were determined that a day's work for "young persons" should be twelve hours, exclusive of meals. Ashley was equally set on a Ten Hours

[1] *Speeches* (1868) selects more addresses from 1844 than from any other year.

[2] Protection of all children, women and young persons meant, practically, a limitation of motive power; thus indirectly it introduced a degree of protection for men also.

Amendment. Consequently, the whole fight centred on the length of the working day; and when the controversy reached its climax, Parliamentary feeling was perilously near exploding.[1]

Shaftesbury's speech, introducing his Ten Hours Amendment,[2] was heavily loaded with statistics; but, never flagging in interest, it stands out as one of his masterpieces. Coming rapidly to grips with his subject, the workers' advocate pointed out that he was contending for no visionary ideal. Factory legislation in Switzerland and Prussia was already in advance of Britain,[3] and industrial progress in both lands had accompanied the practice of mercy. But, whatever other countries might do, the facts themselves, Shaftesbury declared, cried aloud for action. In certain factories women and young persons, minding machines, had to walk from 24 to 37 miles during a single day's toil; and much bending and turning augmented their fatigue. During his 1841 tour of manufacturing districts, Shaftesbury had found "scrofulous cases apparently universal." Hospital wards were filled with patients suffering from scrofulous knees, hips, ankles, etc.—the result of factory labour. "Great heat, bad ventilation, low diet, protracted toil" had wrought the curse. Other physical ailments were only less pronounced; but the most startling indictment against an unrestricted system was the early age at which operatives were thrown on the scrap heap. One factory in 1832, showed that of 1,600 employees only 10 were above forty-five years of age. In 1839, returns from certain mills in Stockport and Manchester showed that of 22,094 employees only 143 were above forty-five; while of these sixteen were retained by special favour, and one was doing a boy's work.[4] Indeed, it was common for operatives to be turned away—"too old at forty-three"; and, in sober truth, the majority were "old men" at that age.

But the abuses practised upon *women* were specially repulsive, and Shaftesbury did not fail to impress upon the House their magnitude. Quoting Inspector Saunders, he declared that, "the small amount of wages paid to women acts as a strong inducement to mill-occupiers to employ them instead of men."[5]

[1] H. of C., March 15, 1844.

[2] The Government's Bill prohibited "night work" by protected persons between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. Shaftesbury's Amendment substituted 6 p.m. for 8 p.m., which, with two hours off for meals, would have given the ten hours day to all women and young persons.

[3] Speech, *Ten Hours Factory Bill*, 5–6.

[4] *Ten Hours Bill*, March 15, 1844, 11–12.

[5] *Ibid.*, 20–1.

Again, in January of that very year, Saunders reported that: "A vast majority of the persons employed at night, and for long hours during the day are females; their labour is cheaper, and they are more easily induced to undergo severe bodily fatigue than men." [1] The results of this system, particularly upon the home, were disastrous. When mothers were at work their children frequently were left in care of strangers, and opium or gin was often administered to keep them still. Intoxication, too, was encouraged among factory women, through exhaustion from over-work. Mr. Braidley, a Manchester borough reeve, stated that, "in one gin shop, during eight successive Saturday evenings, from seven till ten o'clock, he observed, on an average rate, 412 persons enter by the hour, of which the females were 60 per cent. Many females state that the labour induces an intolerable thirst; they can drink, but not eat." [2]

The case of a certain H. W. is typical of many which Ashley now brought forward: [3] "H. W. has three children; leaves them at five on Monday, does not return till Saturday at seven; has then so much to do for her children that she cannot go to bed before three o'clock Sunday morning. Oftentimes completely drenched in rain and has to work all day in that condition. 'My breasts have given me the most shocking pain, and I have been dripping wet with milk.'" [4]

Shaftesbury quoted freely from reports of inspectors and civic officials: moreover, he heaped instance upon instance to such a degree that the most sceptical critic could scarcely accuse him of basing his resolution upon isolated cases. But when nearly two hours had been consumed in presenting data, he was well warmed for his peroration:—"The toil of females has hitherto been considered the characteristic of savage life; but we, in the height of our refinement, impose on the wives and daughters of England a burden from which, at least during pregnancy, they would be exempted in slave-holding states, and among the Indians of America." [5] Then came a characteristic note: "But every consideration sinks to nothing compared with that which springs from the contemplation of the moral mischiefs this system engenders and sustains. You are poisoning the very sources of order and happiness and virtue . . . you are

[1] *Ten Hours Bill*, 21.
[2] *Ibid.*, 23.
[3] He quoted several cases of women working regularly 15 and 15½ hours a day
[4] H. of C., March 15, 1844.
[5] *Ten Hours Bill*, 28.

annulling, as it were, the institution of domestic life decreed by Providence himself, the wisest and kindest of earthly ordinances, the mainstay of social peace and virtue, and therein of national security. There is a time to be born, and a time to die—this we readily concede ; but is there not also a time to live, to live to every conjugal and parental duty ?—this we seem as stiffly to deny. . . . Sir, these sources of mischief must be dried up ; every public consideration demands such an issue, the health of females, the care of their families, their conjugal and parental duties, the comfort of their homes, the decency of their lives, the rights of their husbands, the peace of society and the laws of God ; and until a vote shall have been given this night—which God avert—I never will believe that there can be found in this House one individual man who will deliberately and conscientiously inflict on the women of England such a burden of insufferable toil." [1]

The hottest attack on Ashley's Amendment came from John Bright, who, by the way, owed his introduction to Parliament to the decision of a Committee over which Ashley sat as chairman.[2] More than once Bright publicly acknowledged the warmth of his temperament ; and in truth, this personal trait made no small contribution to his greatness. But, to the end, whenever Bright spoke on Factory Legislation his temperature rapidly rose, until finally his " natural warmth " reached the boiling point, and bubbled over in scalding vituperation on all who deigned to interfere with the " freedom of industry." So far was he carried away on this occasion, that the House demanded an apology for his attacks on Ashley.

Bright's oration in this debate is instructive reading, for it shows the attitude dominating no inconsiderable section of factory-owners. His argument centred in an accusation that the " mock humanity " of " factory reformers " was simply a conspiracy of the landed gentry to clip the wings of the masters of industry, whom they feared as social and political competitors. Hence, his thesis was more designed as an attack upon the landed aristocracy, and trades dependent upon their patronage, than as an answer to Ashley's argument. He spoke of " systematic

[1] *Op. cit.*, 29.

[2] This Committee unseated Lord Dungannon, Bright's opponent, for bribery, and Bright was given the seat (Hodder, i. 495). " I am resolved," said Shaftesbury, " whenever I have an opportunity, to run breast-high against all cases of bribery."

and long-continued attempts to blacken the character of manufacturers," and insinuated that "party feeling of the most malignant kind" was the "main-spring" of the Ten Hours agitation.[1] Indeed, all through his lengthy speech,[2] Bright defended manufacturers by hurling counter charges at his opponents. Milliners and dressmakers, he protested, furnishing adornments for fashionable society, were more abused than mill hands: monopolies, not long hours of toil, were the workmen's real enemies. Repeal of the Corn Laws, and no interference with freedom of trade; the right of the labourer to work what hours he pleased, and be exempt from domination by Government; the abolition of the tax on raw cotton, and the removal of all shackles from commerce—such measures, not interference with factory hours, contended Bright, would bring redemption from social ills.

Evasive, to a degree, were some of Bright's arguments. For instance, he seemed to imagine that because manufacturing districts were putting forth greater efforts for religious and educational uplift among the working populace than was the case in metropolitan or agricultural areas, therefore all talk of a Ten Hours Bill was far from the mark.[3] It might, of course, have been argued, and with greater force, that the very existence of these religious and educational endeavours had created the demand for a shorter working day, in order that labourers might have leisure and energy to profit by the boon conferred upon them. Indeed, with Shaftesbury, there can be no doubt whatever that here lay the dominant motive for all factory reform. Mill "hands" to him were immortal souls; and he believed that before those souls could be properly developed, leisure must be provided, so that the whole personality might expand and express its latent worth.[4] But even when Bright grappled with

[1] *Speech on Ashley's Amendment to Graham's Factory Bill*, March 15, 1844, 44.

[2] It covers forty-five pages in book form.

[3] Bright claimed the manufacturing parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire had church-sittings for 45 per cent. of their population; while Metropolitan churches could seat only 30 per cent. of their population. He also asserted that Dissenters of Ashton-under-Lyne had recently raised £3,000 for the education of labouring classes; and he challenged Ashley to find similar generosity in any agricultural district (Hansard, Mar. 15, 1844).

[4] See Shaftesbury's letter "To Short Time Committees of Counties of Lancaster, York and Chester," June 4, 1847. Here, as on many other occasions, he states that the whole purpose of the agitation was to secure leisure for moral improvement (P. Grant, *op. cit.*, 136–7).

Shaftesbury's argument, his attack, stripped of rhetoric, was weak. In his own factory, despite long hours of labour, the average pay of all workers over thirteen was only 10s. 1d. a week. Bright, however, tried to sway the House by emphasizing the large "family" income of his employees. "The average annual income of each of these families," he said, referring to those occupying his firm's cottages, "is £92 19s." This statement, interpreted, means that a father, mother and at least two children from each home, had to work twelve hours a day in the mills to secure family maintenance.[1]

As Bright proceeded, he kept his trump card up his sleeve. In rapid succession one insinuation followed another as to the veracity of Ashley's statements: the Ten Hours case was grossly exaggerated; landed peers were "throwing obloquy on the manufacturing districts"; "the noble lord's evidence was untrustworthy"; the whole campaign was an instance of misdirected or "mock humanity." Finally, of course, Shaftesbury rose and challenged these insinuations. Bright then suggested that he had further evidence which could demolish Ashley's argument, but that, through respect for "his lordship," he desired to be spared the pain of reading it. Immediately the House reverberated with shouts: "Read! Read!" This was according to Bright's plan; but he feigned reluctance to divulge the awful truth, lest it reflect too strongly upon Ashley. Finally came a renewed uproar: "Read! Read! Read!" Bright felt the psychological moment had now arrived; he had created the atmosphere for his master-stroke; so, again affecting reluctance, he drew forth letters from a certain cripple, named Dodd, who, for a time, was employed by factory reformers in procuring information. These letters accused Ashley of sharp practice and dire ingratitude, while, incidentally, they proved the writer a rogue, who would do anything for money.[2]

Shaftesbury, it is true, had, for a time, been deceived by the wiles of this cunning cripple, whose soul was as contorted as his body: but he soon found him out and dropped all contact with him. Bright, however, inferred that Ashley's case was based on the evidence of just such hirelings as Dodd.[3] This, however, he well knew, was an erroneous assumption, for most of Shaftesbury's data was deduced from reports of Commissioners

[1] In fairness it should be added that conditions in Bright's mill were above the average.

[2] Bright, *op. cit.*, 29–30, 34–5.

[3] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 30.

and factory inspectors, while such evidence was supplemented by personal investigation.[1] The truth is that the Bright who holds an honourable place in history as a repealer of the Corn Laws and a champion of the Irish peasantry, as an advocate of extended franchise and a friend of popular education, as a champion of Christian diplomacy and an apostle of international good will—this same Bright showed a different, and less admirable, spirit whenever he approached "factory reform." Indeed, whenever he came into grips with this subject, the worst ingredients of his nature immediately leaped to the surface, and the dogmas of the Manchester School domineered over his nobler impulses. As years rolled on, and Factory Reforms gradually demonstrated their utility, most early opponents, including Graham, Roebuck, Russell, Gladstone and Brougham, recanted their early opposition. It was not so with Bright. The very success of these reforms seemed to intensify his opposition. To the end, he was the most relentless opponent whom Shaftesbury had to face; and his oratorical capacity, coupled with his sterling moral character, made him a formidable foe.[2]

The conclusion of Bright's speech demonstrates his ability for clothing even an elusive argument in attractive form: "Men of rank and station," he declared, "who deny to the working classes political power, who refuse them bread in years of scarcity in England, except at famine prices, who deprive them of the most useful, and now almost necessary, articles of sugar and coffee, except at the high rates which a heartless monopoly demands . . . these men affect a deep regard for those who live by their daily toil, which daily toil they render unavailing to purchase daily food! Let justice be done to industry, let the produce of the toil of the lowest artisan be a sacred property, then this mistaken or this mock humanity may be spared, and the injustice of man will not render more heavy the sentence which was pronounced by the Highest:

> In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." [3]

In spite of Bright's onslaught and Government opposition,

[1] After Bright's reading of Dodd's letters, Ashley said: "I assure the Honourable Gentleman that I never, but once, quoted a single fact from any of his communications."

[2] In a summary of Factory Struggles, Shaftesbury says: "Bright was ever my most malignant opponent" (Hodder, ii. 210).

[3] *Op. cit.*, 44–5.

Shaftesbury carried the day. His presentation of the case touched the finer feelings of Parliament and, when the House divided, a majority of nine favoured his Amendment. This event has historic significance. For long years a Ten Hours crusade had been afoot, but now for the first time, the House supported the proposal. As far back as 1815, the first Sir Robert Peel, introducing his second Factory Bill, asserted that he personally was "disposed to recommend" a period of only "ten hours for laborious employment" of young workers in factories.[1] What irony that, a generation later, his own son, as Prime Minister, should become chief obstacle impeding the progress of his principles! Such, however, was the case, for Peel's opposition was now obstinate and bitter. But, in this protracted struggle, such divisions even of father and son were not uncommon. Indeed, it is doubtful if any other issue of the century, save Home Rule, divided families, friends, classes and parties into such peculiar alliances and opposing camps as did this struggle. Though Peel turned his back on the more generous sentiments of his father, Ashley, contrariwise, for many years was shut out from his parents' home, and subjected to the most humiliating embarrassments;[2] while again, on Fielden's testimony, even when Bright was fighting most violently against the Ten Hours Bill, his father and brother were supporting it. The whole agitation was, in fact, lifted high above the interests of family, party or caste, and fought out on principle; for while on the one hand certain houses were divided against themselves, on the other not a few political opponents worked together as friends: "Whigs, Tories and Radicals," remarked the *Leeds Times*, "are jumbled together in inextricable disorder."[3] The *Greville Memoirs* pass similar verdict: "I never remember so much excitement as has been caused by Ashley's Ten Hours Bill, nor a more curious political state of things, such intermingling of parties, such a confusion of opposition. . . . The Government have brought forward their measure in a very positive way and have clung to it with great tenacity; rejecting all compromise, they have been abandoned by nearly half their supporters and nothing can exceed their chagrin and soreness at being so forsaken. . . . The Opposition were divided, Palmerston and Lord

[1] Fielden, *Curse of Factory System*, 1.

[2] In spite of drastic economy, Ashley was £100,000 in debt when he succeeded to the family title.

[3] March 30, 1844.

John Russell one way, Baring and Labouchere the other. It has been a queer affair." [1]

Shaftesbury had now carried the Commons' support for a Ten Hours Bill; but the Government, sternly indignant, had no intention of submitting to defeat. Rumours began to circulate in the lobbies that they were preparing a new measure on the *twelve* hours principle, and it was suggested that unless the Commons accepted this Bill they would resign. Meanwhile, vigorous skirmishes continued from both camps. The *Examiner* accused Ashley of agitating for "Jack Cade" rule,[2] and he was cartooned as the reincarnation of the peasant rebel. Sir James Graham, naturally, was pleased with this suggestion. He felt it too fine a brick to leave lying by the road side; so, fitting it into his great-coat pocket, he entered the House prepared to launch a new attack. Hence, at a strategic moment, taking careful aim, he shied the borrowed brick—Ashley was Jack Cade in disguise. Shaftesbury may have been hit by this shot; but, if so, it was no knock-out blow, for when he rose, his reply was apt: "Sir, I am not ashamed of, nor will I repudiate the title. Let me ask the House, what was it gave birth to Jack Cade? Was it not that the people were writhing under oppressions, which they were not able to bear? It was because the Government refused to redress their grievances that the people took the law into their own hands, and I tell the Right Hon. Baronet and those with whom he acts, that if they take not better care this will be the effect again; and that when they designate the people they oppress as rebels, with a Jack Cade for their leader, they are only, in my opinion, adding insult to injustice." [3]

Critical debate on the new Bill began on May 10, 1844,[4] when Shaftesbury again moved an amendment substituting a ten instead of a twelve hours day for women and young

[1] *Greville Memoirs*, v. 241.

[2] Leigh Hunt, editor of *Examiner*, hated Evangelicals as bitterly as did Sydney Smith, Cobbett, Hazlitt or Place: consequently the *Examiner* jumped at the opportunity of taking a poke at Shaftesbury, "the saint" (É. Halévy, *op. cit.*, 375).

[3] Hansard, March 25, 1844, Ser. 3, lxxiii. 1490, 1494.

[4] Between the March and May debates Peel endeavoured to side-track Ashley by offering him the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, but he was not to be baited. After relating Peel's offer, he concludes his Diary with this prayer: "O God, grant that I may 'never be seduced by any worldly motives' to abandon truth and mercy and justice! Keep me from all specious patriotism, and alike from all fear of man's reproach!" (Hodder, i. 43).

persons.[1] His speech was designed to refute the economic arguments of his opponents, and to prove that the Government was going beyond its rights in threatening to resign if his Amendment were carried. The arguments against reduced hours were expressed in a Manchester Petition, presented to the House. Briefly stated they were :

1. A Ten Hours Bill would cause serious diminution of produce.
2. A proportionate reduction in the value of fixed capital employed in trade.
3. Diminution of wages to the great injury of workmen.
4. A rise in price and consequent peril of foreign competition.

Ashley answered these arguments consecutively, showing that they provided little cause for apprehension. As for the first, he admitted that reduced hours would cause some diminution in daily production ; but this diminution, he argued, would *not* be in direct proportion to the decrease in hours. Indeed, he quoted employers who calculated that a diminution of one-sixth the hours of toil would cause a decrease in production of not more than one-tenth, or even one-twelfth ; while, on the other hand, the shorter day would tend to dispel unemployment. As for the second point, he contended that capital would not lose, because alert workers would extract greater production per hour from the same machines. The third scare carried its own refutation, for nearly all mill-work was done by piece-rate ; and though workers expected a reduction of about one-twelfth in daily pay, they believed that because of more constant employment and a higher standard of vitality, they would at the end of a year, or cycle of years, be better off. As to the fourth contention, Ashley claimed that because of increased health and efficiency among employees, cost of production would actually decrease ; consequently the " foreign competition " scare was only a bogey.

Having thus disposed of the Manchester Petition, Shaftesbury proceeded to show that Britain's textile industry had proved a profitable business ; and that human decency, to say nothing

[1] From Oct. 1, 1844, the Amendment was to limit labour of women and young persons to eleven hours in one day, or sixty-four hours in one week ; after Oct. 1, 1847, to not more than ten hours in one day or fifty-eight hours in one week (H. of C., May 10, 1844).

[2] Speech on *Ten Hours Bill*, May 10, 1844, 4–10.

of higher motives, demanded greater consideration for the health, education and moral welfare of operatives. In 1819 England's cotton mills numbered 344; twenty years later they had increased more than five times and numbered 1,815; while the million-pounds of cotton sold, had increased in almost as large a ratio. But this whole subject, Shaftesbury contended, was concentrated in a letter from a mill proprietor, part of which he read to the House: "When we see around us men of all trades and professions going into the cotton trade, some with little capital, others with less knowledge or experience of the business—when we see gentlemen, brokers, merchants, doctors, lawyers, drapers, tailors, etc., leaving their respective professions and trades, and see them building mills in almost every town in Lancashire—when we see capital thus finding its way into the spinning and manufacturing business, surely the profits cannot be so small that a little reduction of the hours of labour to suffering thousands is impracticable." [1]

Then, half-humorously reminding the House of what it well knew—that he had "long been regarded as a monomaniac" and a man of "wild opinions"—Shaftesbury proceeded to cite great *manufacturers* who wholeheartedly supported his cause. Four of them were Members of Parliament. He therefore was able to demonstrate from the experience of employers themselves, the fallacy of Senior's famous argument that "the profits of the manufacturer arise from the labour of the last two hours" of each day. Indeed, Mr. Thomason, a Bolton mill-owner believed "the twelfth hour produces more spoiled work than any other two hours of the day"; and it was a matter of common knowledge among experts that cloth produced during late hours, when workmen were fatigued, was of decidedly inferior quality to that produced earlier in the day. But in spite of this fact many manufacturers were so obsessed with the delusions of arithmetical calculations, and the desire to imitate their competitors, that they never experimented along these lines. They simply took for granted that long hours were essential to success.[2]

Finally Shaftesbury dealt with the resignation rumour lurking, like a ghostly shadow, in every corner of the House.

[1] H. of C., May 10, 1844, or *Ten Hours Factory Bill*, 14.

[2] The writer has been conducted through many textile and other factories in various parts of Britain. These numerous visits have thrown light on the whole labour problem, as also have visits down coal mines. In all cases managers showed the utmost kindness and exhibited infinite patience and frankness in answering questions.

His speech shows a premonition that Peel's intimidation would accomplish its purpose; but undaunted he again set forth his principles and laid still deeper the foundations of future success. Dealing with this threat, he exclaimed: "The House is summoned to cancel its vote not upon conviction, but to save a Government. . . . And so it has come to this, that great questions are to be tried, not by their merits, but by their aspect in affecting the will or the fancies of a Government. . . . *This is despotism under the forms of the constitution*; and all to no purpose; for your resistance will be eventually and speedily overcome, but your precedent will remain, more fatal to true liberty and independence than all the Reform Bills." [1]

The defeat of Ashley's Amendment was inevitable; for this resignation threat was sufficient to curb many of Peel's followers, and subdue their consciences to the Government yoke. But Shaftesbury warned the Ministry that such success would prove only a delusion: "If they render their victory a lasting one, they must extinguish all the sentiments that gave rise to mine. Their error is stupendous. . . . Could you simultaneously, with your extinction of myself, extinguish for a while the sense of suffering, or at least all sympathy with it, you might indeed hope for an inglorious repose; and by the indulgence of your own ease, heap up, for your posterity, turmoil, anxiety and woe. But things will not end here. . . . The feeling of the country is roused; and, so long as there be voices to complain and hearts to sympathize, you will have neither honour abroad nor peace at home, neither comfort for the present, nor security for the future." Then followed a note of co-operation and good will ever present in Shaftesbury's speeches: "But I dare to hope for better things—for restored affections, for renewed understanding between master and man, for combined and general efforts, *for large and mutual concessions of all classes of the wealthy for the benefit of the common welfare, and especially of the labouring people*." In his concluding words, however, came an unmistakable warning to triflers with justice; and on the face of this warning was written that strange combination of humility and courage, so characteristic of the speaker's spirit: "Sir, it may not be given to me to pass over this Jordan; other and better men have preceded me, and I entered into their labours; other and better men will follow me, and enter into mine; but this

[1] *Op. cit.*, 17.

consolation I shall ever continue to enjoy—that, amidst much injustice, and somewhat of calumny, we have at last 'lighted such a candle in England as, by God's blessing, shall never be put out." [1]

It soon became evident that the resignation rumour was well founded. Both Graham and Peel clubbed the Commons into submission, declaring that, if they accepted Ashley's Amendment, they must find a new Government. Roebuck, too, in his strongest language, attacked Shaftesbury as a humanity-monger. It was clear that Peel was determined to defeat the Amendment at any cost. Such reduction of hours, he contended, would sound the death-knell of British trade; but that was not all; the measure was a cloaked conspiracy designed to place an "income tax upon the poor." It was therefore the Government's duty to resign if the Commons strove to coerce the Ministry. Viscount Horwick, in contrast, vigorously supported Ashley, contending that the resignation threat was a "dangerous invasion of the deliberate powers of the House," [2] and warning Ministers that if they persisted in this course they would be guilty of a "hazardous experiment on the temper of the population in our manufacturing districts." [3] Russell too spoke in Shaftesbury's support, incidentally dealing a few blows for Free Trade. But Government intimidation doomed the Amendment. In spite of support from great Liberals, including Palmerston, Macaulay and Grey, when the division came, Ashley was beaten by 138 votes.[4] His Diary records his impressions: "The majority was one to save the Government (even Whigs being reluctant to turn them out just now), not against the question of Ten Hours. Freemantle went from one member to another assuring them of Ministerial danger, and thus each man believed that his own vote was the salvation of the Government." [5]

Philip Grant's verdict is not altogether impartial; but it is at least suggestive. In his *History of Factory Legislation* he says: "Never in the history of a parliamentary struggle did any ministry so far forget itself as did that of Sir Robert Peel in 1844 . . . Well indeed may it be said that 'there is one law for the poor and another for the rich.'" [6]

[1] *Op. cit.*, 18.
[2] *Speeches by Viscount Horwick, May 3rd and 10th* (pamphlet).
[3] *Ibid.*, 34. Horwick here availed himself of the opportunity to take a blow at the Corn Laws.
[4] H. of C., May 10 and 13, 1844. [5] Hodder, ii. 50.
[6] *Op. cit.*, 110. Grant gives a minute analysis of this situation (83–111).

The Government Bill forthwith went up to the Lords, where its passage was uneventful, save for the onslaughts of Lord Brougham. A bitter opponent of all factory legislation, he thundered forth his wrath, and spat out his venom, against the whole measure: What business had Parliament to interfere with women's labour? The Bill was a travesty of personal liberty. Women and young persons were capable of making their own bargains, without interference by Government. The sponsors of factory legislation were victims of a "misguided and perverted humanity."[1] But in spite of Brougham's storming, or probably because of it, the Bill soon passed through the Lords and thence to the Statute Books. Nominally Ashley suffered defeat; but the 1844 Act, which he compelled Graham to push forward as a substitute for the Ten Hours Bill, registered real advance. True, working hours for young people continued at twelve, *but women of all ages were now protected as young persons*; while the hours for children under thirteen were reduced from eight to six and a half. Moreover, the Act sought to check relays by legislating that all protected persons must begin labour simultaneously. But, in addition, it contained valuable provisions for safe-guarding machinery, while also it simplified inspection, making it more efficient.[2] Therefore "the memorable campaign of 1844, the greatest parliamentary struggle upon this subject on record," was not waged in vain.[3]

During 1845 Parliament rested from these heated debates. Ashley well knew that for the immediate present the subject was exhausted, and further attempts to push it upon the House, without a breathing spell, could only exhaust the Members' patience and defeat his own ends. Besides Ashley's time, that year, was largely occupied with two important Bills, which he carried to success. One protected women and children in calico-printing works; the other was the famous Lunacy Bill, already reviewed. But, although discussion on the Ten Hours Bill was temporarily dropped in the House, it was kept much alive in the constituencies, for Short Time Committees were greatly encouraged by the fact that their leader had actually secured a majority in the Commons; and they knew that Ministerial intimidation could not continue indefinitely. Hence they kept their shoulders to the wheel; and Shaftesbury encouraged them

[1] H. of L., May 20, 1844.
[2] Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury*, 101–2.
[3] Grant, *op. cit.*, 111.

by a Northern tour, during which he addressed meetings at big industrial centres.

But one far-reaching event, of 1845, is often forgotten, and we are indebted to "Alfred" (Samuel Kydd) for preserving its memory. That year Oastler lost his wife, who for many years had been his mainstay, and after her death he was never again the same man. His restraining force was gone; he now lost himself in an abandon of excitement, his better judgment being consumed in the furnace of unbridled emotions. Kydd, a mutual friend of the Oastlers, draws a vivid picture of their devotion as man and wife; and the most pronounced aspect of that picture is the inspiring, yet restraining, influence which Mrs. Oastler's Evangelical faith exercised over her husband. Oastler himself was a religious man, raised in a remarkably religious home; but his wife was endowed with a faith greater than his, and with that greater faith came a finer sense of moderation. "Her religion," says Kydd, "was unostentatious, 'pure and undefiled'; and so, her faith and trust in God never failed. Next to her God she loved 'her own Richard' . . . on her he could always rely. Their happiness was unbroken—whatever storms outside might rage. In his labours for the poor factory children she more than sympathized. Night and day cheering, helping and comforting him in the prosecution of his overwhelming labours. Writing for him, sometimes through the night—and day by day, when he was weary, exhausted, absent, or on the bed of sickness, Mrs. Oastler never allowed the great work to stand still. She would take up his pen, and continue his public and private correspondence where he had left off. . . ."[1]

Nevertheless, knowing the warmth of her husband's temperament, Mrs. Oastler was at times haunted by fears that he might become too intimately associated with reckless men: "Sometimes with meekness and softened affection, she would warn her husband to be guarded—being fearful, lest his strong devotion to 'the great question' might cause him to associate too freely with those whom she thought were not God-fearing men." But when the veteran's friends forsook him, as not a few did, and he felt deeply depressed, his wife became the solace of his being: "'Never mind, Richard! it is God's work! Only stand firm yourself, though all forsake! God will

[1] "Alfred," *History of the Factory Movement*, ii. 229; Grant, 114 ff.

provide.' And when his character was assailed, Mrs. Oastler would smile and say, 'Poor things—they do not know you. They can never change my opinion of my own Richard! Go on, my love—trusting in God! He will take care of your character.' When poverty seemed to be the certain consequence of Mr. Oastler's proceedings, Mrs. Oastler would smile and say, 'Poverty with God's blessing, will be our greatest riches. Let us be poor and despised, rather than that you, for my sake, should slacken your efforts in the great work which I am sure God has put into your hands. Come what may—God will be our friend, while we strive to do His work, trusting in Him.' Yes, Mrs. Oastler was, indeed, Mr. Oastler's mainstay!" [1]

The loss of his noble wife has no distant relationship to the violent, ill-conceived language which Oastler was later to use against Shaftesbury.[2]

Outstanding among 1846 events was the Repeal of the Corn Laws; and in that reform the potato famine and bad harvests of 1845 played a greater part than the well-organized propaganda of the anti-Corn Law League. True, the indefatigable labours of Cobden and Bright accomplished much; but the spectre of a starving Ireland probably did more to convert Peel than all the oratory of the League.[3] Moreover, it is beyond doubt that the chain of events associated with the Repeal had momentous influence on Shaftesbury's endeavours. The leaders of the League were none too scrupulous as to their choice of weapons. To them the landed gentry were responsible for all the country's woes; and if their arguments were taken at face value, then Repeal of the Corn Laws, which bolstered up the privileges of this landed class, would act as a sort of patent medicine, guaranteed to cure all ills. Therefore, to aggressive Leaguers, the Ten Hours Bill was only a makeshift, a bogey; it dealt with symptoms, not causes. The Repeal alone, they contended, struck at the primary roots of iniquity; and if "reformers" would only leave manufacturers unfettered and join the League, in applying all axes to those roots, then the tree of injustice, with its many poisoned branches, would fall. In a word, the League promised, by "Repeal," a Social Utopia. Shaftesbury did not share this

[1] "Alfred," ii. 230.

[2] Grant, referring to Mrs. Oastler's death, says: "By this loss Oastler's services were rendered feeble to the cause" (*Ten Hours Bill*, 114).

[3] It will remain a matter of debate whether principle or expediency was major motive with Peel in taking this momentous step. Grant leans toward the latter view (*op. cit.*, 116; Hodder, ii. 116–26).

view; yet more than once he pledged his word that if he believed the burden of women and children would be lightened by Repealing the Corn Laws, he would immediately lend his support to that end, whatever the consequences to himself.

The League, however, turned its worst side to Shaftesbury. Bright was "ever his bitterest opponent," and he suffered much vexation at the hands of other leaders. He was heir to an agricultural peer, and that fact alone created no little prejudice; but, in addition, he represented the agricultural constituency of Dorset, the seat of his father's estates. The opponents of reform, therefore, on the hunt for propaganda, were not long in whiffing an odour from the Shaftesbury farms, and, once on the trail, they pursued a hot chase. Labourers on Shaftesbury farms were found to be poorly paid and badly housed; and the presentation of these discoveries, as portrayed in newspaper letters, magazine articles and Parliamentary speeches, certainly made the most of what was, at best, a gruesome situation. Ashley, accordingly, was blamed for all these abuses, as though he himself were Lord of the Manor; but, the truth is, his father had cast him off, and he was allowed no influence whatsoever on the estate. Indeed, for years on end, he was not permitted to darken his father's door; and all this because the Earl disapproved of his efforts in behalf of the labouring population.[1]

The League made full use of all Dorset exposures. Bright, in this connection, exhibited his very worst manners, and more than once suggested hypocrisy on Ashley's part: "The noble lord was blindfolding himself to the sins of landed proprietors," but was "lynx-eyed" to the evils of manufacturers. Cobden also joined the chorus of rebuke. Ashley's Diary, December 19, 1844, reveals a disquieting dilemma: "League busy; letter this morning to say that an attack was to be made by Cobden on me, drawn from state of dwellings at Martin and Damerham.[2] Duncombe tells me that a spy has been there for three days. God be with me! I am innocent as a child unborn, and yet it seems that they will strip me at last of all power to effect anything in the House of Commons. I commit it all to God. He will yet deliver me."[3] Three days previously he had written:

[1] Ashley's Sturminster speech (*Condition of Agricultural Labouring Population*, 1843) had annoyed his father and other constituents; and he was never wholly forgiven by either.

[2] Outlying places on his father's estate.

[3] Hodder, ii. 79–80.

"The League are reviling me for doing *nothing*, at the moment I am turned out of my father's house for doing *too much*." [1]

This, and much similar evidence, shows that the League's treatment of Ashley and the Ten Hours Bill was far from generous.[2] But Ashley was an open-minded man, and if once he became convinced that the Corn Laws were a menace to the nation, he would allow no personal interest to oppose their modification or repeal. Up till the autumn of 1845 he was convinced that British agriculture would be crippled if forced into open competition with great corn-producing countries. Protection, therefore, he believed necessary if English soil were to be decently tilled. But the total failure of the 1845 harvest, and the spectre of semi-starvation among the poor, changed his attitude toward the Corn Laws. He now recognized in the people's need, a greater moral appeal than lay behind the protection of agriculture. England now had practically no food to sell, and if the Corn Laws were retained prices would be prohibitive to thousands. Shaftesbury, consequently was one of the first Protectionists to indicate a change of position; and as soon as that intelligence reached his constituents, storm clouds began to gather. A petition was circulated throughout Dorset demanding that "another gentleman," who would stand more firmly for the county's interests, should be chosen to represent it in Parliament. Following this, Shaftesbury wrote to the *Dorset County Chronicle* setting forth his views; [3] and his straightforward statement is characteristic of the man. Neither flattery nor apology is traceable in his words, though there is no mistaking his conclusions. Yet this letter was written more than a fortnight before Peel called his first Cabinet meeting to consider the impending crisis, and it precedes, by five weeks and two days, Russell's famous letter to the electors of London, announcing his "unqualified conversion to the principles of the anti-Corn Law League." [4]

The purpose of Ashley's epistle is plainly stated: "That I may not have anything to suppress now and explain away hereafter." He informed his constituents that he was "altogether indisposed to change his conduct," and went on to give reasons

[1] These references are to the condition of farm labourers in Dorset, and to the Sturminster speech.
[2] Hodder, ii. 189.
[3] This letter was republished in *Times*, Oct. 20, 1845.
[4] Hodder, ii. 122.

for his attitude toward the Corn Laws: "It appears to me that their destiny is fixed; and that the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature are by no means disinclined to their eventual abolition. The debates of the last session have left no doubts on this head; both the candidates for power and the occupants of it, approximated so much more closely than at any former period, that most of the hearers were induced to believe that their difference was less a matter of principle than a question of time." Then he suggested a method of breaking the "force of the inevitable blow": "The sudden repeal of these laws would be destructive; the gradual abolition of them would be less injurious. You have at this moment the power to offer such terms; there is no certainty that you will retain it much longer." [1]

A torrent of abuse swept down on Shaftesbury because of this statement. It seemed he had infuriated all, and pacified none. "Canting," "saint," "hypocrite," "pretence of religion," etc.—such were the hail-stones which poured upon him. In 1843 the *Examiner* had said: "If this man goes on, as he now does, telling the truth to every one, he will soon become the most hated person in England." It now appeared that this prediction was fulfilled; for Leaguers and Protectionists vied with one another in coining vituperative language for his abuse. A Diary entry, October 27th, throws light on this subject: "Violent articles in papers; sent to me, of course. League papers absolutely truculent; every form of baseness ascribed to me. . . . The high Protection party conceive that my letter gives an impulse to abolition, the very shadow of which is frightful to them; the Free Traders conceive that it will aid to qualify their scheme of abolition by adding time and modifications. Thus I have grievously offended both sides; my strength, if I have any, will be found among the reasonable, thinking men of the land." [2]

But as winter drew on, and the ghosts of approaching famine began to haunt the Irish people, Shaftesbury fought a tremendous battle in his own soul. His Diary gives some conception of this struggle. In view of the emergency Shaftesbury desired prompt action for gradual abolition; but as weeks wore on and nothing was done, he came to realize that *total and speedy abolition* could alone meet the situation. His notes, December 23rd, show that

[1] Hodder, ii. 119. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 120.

he was now converted to such a step. But what of his understanding with his Protectionist constituents? True, he made no definite promise, but he felt a vote for abolition would be "diametrically opposite" to their desires. He believed himself, therefore, morally bound by an "honourable understanding"; yet he could not crucify his conscience by voting Protection.[1] Must he then resign, thereby surrendering his leadership of the Ten Hours Cause? Must he permit women and children to continue to grind out their souls through long hours of factory toil, because he believed it necessary to provide cheap food for starving babes in the Emerald Isle? His last Diary entry for 1845 contains few words, but those few suggest deep anguish of soul: "Dec. 31st. If Peel's plan be for total abolition, and I be disposed to support it, must I not previously resign my seat? What a tremendous sacrifice! The Ten Hours Bill abandoned, and all my prospects at once extinguished! God in His mercy give me wisdom and prosper the issue."

Early in December 1845 it had become evident that Peel was set on abolition; but his Ministry threatened trouble. Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch intimated their readiness to resign. Others seemed equally recalcitrant. Peel therefore adopted a new strategy; he would first worry the Parliamentary bull, and later take him by the horns. Consequently, while members of his Ministry were threatening resignation, he forestalled them by repairing to the Queen (Dec. 5th) and tendering his own. Her Majesty then called on Russell, leader of the Opposition, to form a Government; but, as Peel anticipated, his efforts fell to earth still-born: so before the month had run its course Peel was again at the helm, and now it was certain he would enforce his will. Parliament reassembled on January 22, 1846, and from the outset Peel exhibited determination: "I will reserve to myself the unfettered power of judging what will be for the public interest; I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interest, and providing for the public safety." Five days later, he announced himself an "absolute convert to the Free-Trade principle" and asserted that "the introduction of the principle into *all departments* of our commercial legislation," was to be "a question of time and convenience."

[1] Few members showed Ashley's conscientiousness: Peel himself had been returned Prime Minister, in 1841, as arch-defender of the Corn Laws.

At ten o'clock that evening Shaftesbury, turning to his Diary, analysed the situation: "Peel has just made his statement, and *to my mind it is most satisfactory*." Further on, referring to the landed gentry, he noted: "I rejoice that this repeal of the Corn Laws will compel them to care, and to some effort, at least, towards improvement." Then came the searching question. Could he remain an M.P. and vote Repeal? or must he resign? "If I remain an M.P. I shall vote for it (Repeal) in all its parts, and throughout all its stages; but can I remain so? Though no pledges were given or asked, was there not between the electors and myself an 'honourable understanding' that 'Protection' of some kind should be maintained? If this be the case, I may not vote in direct contradiction of the principle; neither will I vote for it. Public necessity and public welfare both demand the repeal of the Corn Laws. I could justify such a vote before God, because I am convinced that it would be for the best for every national and moral interest; but I have entered into relations with men and I must observe them, though it be to my own detriment."[1] Finally, recalling the text, "Commit thy ways unto the Lord; and He will direct thy paths," Shaftesbury wrote down his determination: "In this hope I will surrender all; and maintain my integrity, while I lose my office. I shall resign my seat and throw up all my beloved projects; all for which I have sacrificed everything that a public man values; all that I had begun and all that I had designed. Nearly my whole means of doing any good will cease with my membership of Parliament. But God's will be done: 'Though He slay me,' said Job, 'yet will I trust in Him.'"[2]

The die was now cast. Four days later Shaftesbury resigned his seat; but before taking this step, he arranged for the re-introduction of his Bill. Consequently, on January 29, 1846, he brought forward his measure, and once more pleaded the cause of factory children. Neither this speech nor the debates following, need detain us here. The workers' champion once again reviewed the factory situation; he warned the House against the folly of "persistent refusals," and cited much evidence from manufacturers who, having voluntarily experimented with production under "shorter hours," were converted to the Ten Hours Bill. But another point, now

[1] Hodder, ii. 127. [2] *Ibid.*

elaborated, was that twelve hours' toil for girls of thirteen was unsexing them and making them unfit for true motherhood.[1]

The opposition, on this occasion, lost nothing of its warmth. Bright was no less insulting than previously; and Roebuck's satire was no whit below his own insolent standard. Indeed, referring to Ashley's reputation for humanity, Roebuck ridiculed it as a thing of no account. Such a reputation was easy of attainment: "a thing to be achieved by merely accusing oneself of all the cardinal virtues."[2]

Upon Ashley's retirement, John Fielden, member for Oldham, himself a great cotton manufacturer, took charge of the Bill. On April 29th, in a vigorous speech, Fielden moved the second reading of Ashley's measure; but Graham announced the Government's "firm determination to resist the further progress of the Bill."[3] A week later the debate was again taken up, but the important discussions took place on May 13th and 22nd. Many speakers participated in these debates, but the memorable contribution was Macaulay's oration. Macaulay declared himself to be "as firmly attached to the principle of free trade" as any gentleman in that House;[4] but he contended that "where the health of the community was concerned, the principle of non-interference did not apply": while in the case of public morality, the same exception was even more pronounced. Then analysing his opponents' arguments, he took the institution of the Sabbath to illustrate their inconsistency. The prohibition of Sunday labour, he pointed out, stood in direct conflict with non-interference; yet would the opponents of interference advocate the abolition of this Day of Rest, and recommend *seven* days' labour per week? Would they dare challenge the wisdom of this religious institution? If not, the principle of interference was already conceded, and the only question remaining was how to use it most wisely:—"Would you treat the free labourer of England," asked Macaulay, "like a mere wheel or pulley? Rely on it that intense labour, beginning too early in life, continued too long every day, stunting the growth of the body, stunting the growth of the mind, leaving no time for healthful exercise, leaving no time for intellectual culture, must impair those higher qualities which have made our country

[1] *Speeches*, 197–213.
[2] H. of C., Jan. 29, 1846.
[3] Grant, *op. cit.*, 117; Hansard, April 29th.
[4] Macaulay's *Speeches*, 209; Grant, 118–20.

great. Your over-worked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble and more ignoble progeny;[1] nor will it be long before the deterioration of the labourer will injuriously affect those very interests to which his physical and moral energies have been sacrificed." "Man," continued this eminent historian, "is the great instrument that produces wealth"; . . . man is "the machine of machines, the machine compared with which all the contrivances of the Watts and the Arkwrights are worthless." Then, forestalling the inevitable argument that British manufacturers would fall before the unrestricted hours of foreign competition, Macaulay continued: "Never will I believe that what makes a population stronger, and healthier and wiser and better, can ultimately make it poorer. . . . If ever we are forced to yield the foremost place among commercial nations, we shall yield it not to a race of degenerate dwarfs, but to some people pre-eminently vigorous in body and in mind."[2]

This remarkable speech, delivered the day on which the House again divided, May 22, 1846, produced no inconsiderable effect. But even Macaulay's eloquence was not sufficient to overcome the opposition of Peel and Graham. Fielden too had done his best: his handling of the Bill was admirable; but the second reading was defeated by 203 to 193 votes.[3]

In eight months the Ten Hours Bill was up again. But, meanwhile, important events were preparing the way for a quiet, though triumphant success. On June 26, 1846, the very day the Repeal of the Corn Laws received Royal Assent, the disgruntled Protectionists turned on Peel and defeated his "Irish Coercion Bill." The majority against him (73) was decisive. Resignation was his only escape; and this time there was little hope of his being called back. Thus the man who, in 1844, by his

[1] Dr. Bradley, Dean of Westminster, preaching Shaftesbury's funeral sermon in Westminster Abbey, Oct. 11, 1885, quoted the impressions of a Spanish gentleman who, in 1801, visited English mills. He observed the "unnatural dexterity" of tiny fingers and heard much praise of a system enabling infants to support themselves and increase the national wealth. The sight, however, left him sick at heart. He considered these children "doomed to grow up diseased, ignorant and dissolute. . . . Better the stagnation of Spain than the white slavery of England" (*In Memoriam*, 1885, 46).

[2] Macaulay's *Speeches*, 215–16. In conclusion Macaulay suggested a compromise, recommending first a reduction to *eleven* hours; and then, if results were satisfactory, a march on to a *ten* hours day.

[3] Protectionists, more than two to one, supported the Bill; Peelites were almost solidly opposed; while Whigs turned the tide by giving an adverse majority of ten votes—the exact number by which it was defeated (Hammond, 116, quoted from *Ten Hours Advocate*, 93).

resignation threat, had prevented the Ten Hours Bill from passing into law, was now compelled to step down from the seat of authority, and make his exit. With Peel's resignation, therefore, the greatest obstacle to the Ten Hours Bill was pushed aside, for most Whig leaders were more or less pledged to support such a measure; and Russell, Peel's successor, had already made several contributions to the debate, in which he asserted the advisability of further reduction in hours for all women and young persons.

Other events, heralding success, were only less important than Peel's resignation. At no period in the long struggle was popular agitation carried on with greater enthusiasm and efficiency than now. It was less than a year after Ashley's resignation when Fielden introduced his Bill; yet, during that period, Ashley made two extended tours of the industrial districts, and everywhere he kept blazing the fires of rational agitation. Some friends of the measure, out of kindness to Ashley, advised delaying the Bill till his return to Parliament; but always he turned a cold shoulder to this suggestion, emphasizing the folly of delay when all omens were favourable. He believed the day was now dawning when the workers could enter their Promised Land; and although he, like Moses, was denied the joy of leading them over the border, he was at least allowed the privilege of joining the ranks and arousing the spirits of his comrades. This privilege, moreover, he used to the utmost. Free from Parliamentary duties, he threw his whole soul into the endeavour fully to understand the life of the operatives, and to interpret to the public their need; and it is probable that, in this way, he actually rendered greater service than could have been possible had his membership in Parliament remained unbroken. Indeed, the 1844 debates had exhausted the Ten Hours argument in the House, and what was now needed, above all else, was a wisely conducted field campaign which would thoroughly awaken the public conscience, and increase pressure upon legislators. Shaftesbury, moreover, was the one man who could lead this campaign to consummate victory; so he threw himself into the task with unstinted zeal.[1]

Some two months prior to Fielden's introduction of his Ten

[1] The writer is indebted to Mr. J. L. Hammond for his *Lord Shaftesbury*; but he finds himself in emphatic disagreement with the theory that the star of Shaftesbury's greatness began to wane at the date of his resignation from Parliament (1846) (*op. cit.*, chaps. x, xi.)

Hours Bill,[1] this field campaign began to make itself felt in every industrial district; but during the weeks immediately preceding the Bill's first reading, the campaign proceeded at lightning pace. The fiery oratory of Oastler and Stephens found ready ears in Yorkshire and Scotland; while Shaftesbury, for the most part, confined his efforts to Lancashire: and the spiritual fervour of the leaders won the help of many ministers of religion, both Anglican and Nonconformist.[2] In one popular meeting, held at Manchester (January 1847) and presided over by the city's Senior Canon, Ashley clearly expressed the purpose of his campaign: "My great object has been to give you reasonable encouragement, . . . to stimulate you to continue as you have begun and to feel assured, if you go on in the course before you, you will, by God's blessing, obtain that which every one must see is essential to your physical and moral condition." In this same address he pleaded for the workers' confidence in his friend, Fielden, assuring them that the measure was in "hands which he knew to be most faithful and trustworthy." Then, admitting that "it would have been agreeable to him to have carried this measure to final success," he quoted Shakespeare, "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and prevailed upon his audience to remember "that the measure, by whatsoever instrumentality it was obtained, would be equally conducive to their interests."

Another great asset at this period was the establishment in Manchester of a workmen's paper, *The Ten Hours Advocate*. This weekly was edited by Philip Grant, a friend of Shaftesbury, who, later (1866), published *The History of Factory Legislation*: and the new organ "devoted most of its space to reporting the movement and proceedings in the country." Thus a powerful instrument of propaganda was added to the cause.

Consequently, as the day approached when Fielden moved to bring in a "Bill to limit the hours of labour of young persons and females in factories to ten hours a day,"[3] the road to victory was prepared. The proper atmosphere had been created, and portents of success were present on all sides. Peel, a mighty foe, had fallen; Russell, the Prime Minister, by previous utterances, was pledged to support some such measure; an unparalleled series of public meetings had popularized the

[1] Jan. 26, 1847. Previously Fielden was pushing the Bill introduced by Ashley before resignation.

[2] Grant, *op. cit.*, 121.

[3] H. of C., Jan. 26, 1847.

workers' case; the advent of the *Ten Hours Advocate* had provided the workers with a paper of their own; and, in addition, petitions flooded in on nearly every Member. Yet, in spite of all these advantages, no stone was left unturned. As on previous occasions, carefully chosen delegates went up to London to support Fielden and lobby for the Bill.

Thus, on January 26, 1847, when Fielden introduced his Bill, it was a foregone conclusion that progress would be made. The vital question was whether he would succeed in passing a *ten* hours measure, or whether he would be forced to compromise and accept an *eleven* hours day;[1] for it was well known that such Government leaders as Russell, Macaulay and Grey were timorous about the immediate acceptance of a ten hours clause. They wanted an eleven hours compromise, believing, as Macaulay had stated, that if this reduction proved wise, then, at a future date, they could proceed to a ten hours day.

Fielden's Bill proposed that the maximum labour for young persons and women should be sixty-three hours a week until May 1, 1848, and that after this date the ten hours principle, prescribing maximum hours as fifty-eight a week,[2] should come into full operation. Its second reading took place on February 10th, when a long debate ensued.[3] The subject was then adjourned for a week; but when the division came, February 17th, it was obvious that, although the measure was commanding less attention than in 1844, nevertheless, much ground had been won. The vote was overwhelmingly in Fielden's favour, 195 to 87.

This was an encouraging omen; but it was a matter of common knowledge that the crucial moment would only arrive when the House went into Committee and faced the alternative of an *eleven* hours compromise. On March 17th, the hour of suspense arrived; but a joyful surprise was in store for friends of the Bill. To the amazement of all, the Peelites, the most uncompromising antagonists of factory reform, now abstained from voting. The result was that the eleven hours amendment,

[1] Hindley, who, for a short time, had supplanted Ashley as leader, recommended such a compromise.

[2] The two hours reduction was on Saturday afternoon.

[3] Ashley's Diary for this date reflects his interest: "Factory Bill is under discussion in the House of Commons. I lingered in the lobby; had not the spirit to enter the House; should have been nervously excited to reply, and grieved by inability to do so." On March 1st he notes: "I work as though I had charge of the Bill."

supported by the Premier and his most influential Ministers, was overwhelmingly defeated. The Ten Hours principle, therefore, passed its most critical stage almost without a struggle; and now the Bill was ready to proceed to third reading with all its teeth intact, and shorn of none of its strength. But why had the Peelites abstained from voting on the eleven hours amendment? Was it because Peel, in 1844, had refused all compromise, and said that he would rather concede the full ten hours demand than depart from the twelve hours standard? Were they scrupulous about observing the letter of their leader's statement? Were they simply desirous of embarrassing Russell's Government? Or were they at last convinced that they were backing a losing cause? Such questions are hard to answer, for they require the interpretation of motives; and, it being often difficult to understand the motives for our own actions, it is doubly difficult to comprehend those of others. This much, however, may be safely said. Peel's influence was at low ebb. The wrath of Protectionists, who felt that he had not only deserted, but betrayed them, was as fire on his head. During office, he more than once had changed his policy, and now he was being accused of every form of inconsistency. His enemies, therefore, were numerous enough, and he well knew that, if he voted for the eleven hours amendment, his 1844 statements would be brought forward by opponents to prove him guilty of still another instance of time-serving insincerity. Then again, Peel was endowed with too much sagacity not to realize that, by this time, the shorter hours crusade was so far advanced toward victory, that neither he nor any other statesman could long impede its success.[1]

In the early days of his Premiership, Peel's attitude to Ashley was one of good-natured tolerance, marked by just a breath of contempt. Ashley's idealism and moral exactitude grated on Peel's urbane sense of deportment. Was not this young idealist tinged with fanaticism? Would he not be an encumbrance if allowed any share in practical politics? Was it not shrewd policy to decoy him away from statesmanship, so that he could do no harm? Peel's answer to such forebodings was unmistakable; so he strove to muzzle Ashley by attempting to dress him in silk breeches and place him, as a sort of ornament, in

[1] See Journals of H. of C., cii. 1847 (Index, section on Factories), for some idea of the multitude of petitions praying the Commons to pass this Bill.

the Queen's household.[1] But since he first tried this trick eight years had passed, and during those years he had fought Ashley's factory measures tooth and nail. Nevertheless, it was now obvious that the work of the " impractical idealist," the " religious fanatic," was at last grown too strong for the ex-Premier and his followers. True, Shaftesbury now was not sitting in Parliament ; but the cause for which he had struggled was intensely active, and was proving that the practical influence of this " pious enthusiast " was such as the proud statesman, even at the height of his power, might have envied. During his Administration Peel passed several measures of social reform ; but for the most part others, not himself, created the public sentiment which made those measures possible. He simply crystallized into legislation the thought-moulding influence which pioneers had generated ; and he now had occasion to realize that the latter was the nobler achievement of the twain. Ashley, out of Parliament, was proving himself stronger than the proud ex-Premier.

Further light is thrown on this subject by a conversation between Peel and Ashley, after the latter accepted the leadership of the Ten Hours Cause. " Lord Ashley," said Peel, " you have sacrificed yourself, you have sacrificed your party, you have gone with the people who cannot assist you, and I must abandon you." [2] Peel had indeed abandoned Shaftesbury ; but he had gone farther : he opposed him to the last ditch. Yet all this time Shaftesbury and his cause were gaining strength.

Before Fielden's Bill came up for final reading, both Hume [3] and Bright resorted to obstructionist tactics. But, to Russell's credit, these attempts were nipped in the bud, and on May 3, 1847, the Ten Hours Bill quietly, but triumphantly, passed its third reading. The debate caused little commotion, for the total vote was only 239 ; but of this total the measure secured 151.

Next day the Bill received its first reading in the Lords, and it is no small tribute to Ashley's field campaign that before the measure came up for second reading, May 17th, the Lords were inundated with petitions from manufacturing districts," severally

[1] In 1839, during Peel's " three-day administration," he succeeded in trapping Ashley by his " concern " for the Queen's *moral welfare* (Hodder, i. 245–8) ; but in 1841, though he again baited the trap with smooth words, Ashley was on guard and would not bite (Hodder, i. 348–59).

[2] *Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 20, 1850 (address by Philip Grant before workers' delegates).

[3] Hume's opposition was always based on political economy, he being an ardent follower of James Mill and Bentham.

praying their lordships to pass a Ten Hours Bill for all Minors and Females employed in Factories, without delay." [1] It is, moreover, equally ominous that when the Lords assembled for debate on the second reading, " the attendance of bishops was larger than had been known on any previous occasion." [2] Here the Earl of Ellesmere [3] took charge of the Bill, and in his speech he urged the Peers to help England again to " set an example, as in the case of abolishing slavery," and then " other important manufacturing countries of Europe would follow." [4] Lord Faversham seconded the motion; and Lord Brougham led the opposition. Brougham's speech, though specially addressed to the " right honourable prelates," was a sorry reiteration of the oft-repeated lament for the future of British industry if the measure passed. Quite rightly, however, Brougham asserted that " the effect of the Bill virtually would be to prevent any person of either sex from working more than ten hours ": then he proceeded to paint a dismal picture of the consequences of such folly.[5] The Bishop of London followed Brougham, forcefully pointing out that, uncontrolled, the factory system had bred " ignorance, misery and vice." Therefore, he contended that theories of non-interference had little weight; but that, on the contrary, it was the plain duty of Government to intercept the moral degradation which abuses of the industrial system had bred.

At the conclusion of this animated debate, it was pointed out as " a fact worthy of record, that nearly every one of the bench of Bishops either spoke or voted in support of the children." [6] But another fact is equally significant. The lord who made the most powerful speech, was one with whom Shaftesbury had exchanged

[1] Journals of H. of L., lxxix (1847), 203; also Index to same volume, 833, for some idea of the number of petitions the Lords received praying them to pass the Bill. It is interesting, tracing down these petitions, to note the enthusiastic support the measure was receiving from ministers of all religious denominations and also from medical men. A few petitions were presented *against* the Bill.

[2] Hodder, ii. 190.

[3] Ellesmere took charge of the Bill at Ashley's request. He had been an ardent supporter of the measure in H. of C., but this was his maiden effort in H. of L. His speech was pointed and effective, and paid great tribute to Shaftesbury (Hansard, May 17, 1847; Hodder has misprinted May 13, 1847, for May 17th.

[4] Grant, 124; Hansard, H. of L., May 17, 1847.

[5] Brougham admitted the lamentable lot of the average labourer, but excused it all by *economic law*. Such conditions were inevitable, and interference only made them worse. It is interesting, however, to note that what Brougham calls the " primeval curse " condemning man to eat bread " by the sweat of his brow," rested only upon the *labouring* population.

[6] Grant, 129.

many a warm argument. Indeed, of all the controversies into which Shaftesbury was drawn, few, if any, were more spirited than those with Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. Nevertheless Wilberforce was the man who now made the most memorable speech in behalf of Shaftesbury's cause; and it does honour to the memory of both these men that although either stood ready to defend his beliefs to the last trench, yet whenever they found themselves on common ground, all semblance of animosity was cast to the winds, and they were ready to co-operate as brothers. Wilberforce's speech occasionally struck notes as eloquent and forceful as those sustained by Macaulay.[1] Dealing with Brougham's argument, the Bishop provoked an outburst of laughter in the sedate atmosphere of the Second Chamber by informing their lordships that he himself, addressing a body of labourers, had raised exactly the same argument as Brougham: and with what result? No sooner had he expressed these forebodings than there rang out the retort: "Why that is Lord Brougham's argument, and there is nothing in it!" But grappling with his subject, Wilberforce maintained that "it was wrong to create wealth by sacrificing the souls and bodies of men." The Bill was designed to suppress an unchristian exploitation of life, and therefore all "moral and religious considerations exacted interference at its hands." But, proceeding further, he struck a very modern note: "Capitalists and great manufacturers can make their own terms; the working classes have only the option of working at the wages offered, or not working at all. The capitalists can exert complete power over the working classes. How can these men resist?—only by combination. Are your lordships prepared to make them see that the only way to resist is by combination against their masters?" Finally Wilberforce reverted to the sentiment of Macaulay, a sentiment which might well have acted as text for hundreds of Shaftesbury's utterances: "Depend upon it, that if you neglect the people, in order to make the nation rich, you will in the end make the nation poor by debasing the people."

With the bishops supporting the Bill, Brougham was hopelessly crushed. Division, on second reading, showed Contents 53; Non-contents 11. Third reading, consequently, was passed without division; and on June 1, 1847, the Bill

[1] *Times*, May 18, 1847, 2–3, for full report of Lords' proceedings on previous day.

awaited only Royal Assent before it became law.[1] Shaftesbury's Diary clearly indicates his joy: "Six o'clock. News that the Factory Bill has just passed the third reading. I am humbled that my heart is not bursting with thankfulness to Almighty God—that I can find breath to express my joy. What reward shall we give unto the Lord for all the benefits He hath conferred upon us? God, in His mercy prosper the work, and grant that these operatives may receive the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord! Praised be the Lord, praised be the Lord in Christ Jesus!"[2] Such were the rejoicings of a man whose long endeavours, because of a peculiar change in the Parliamentary situation, were piloted to success by another's hand. Shaftesbury would have liked to have carried the Bill to victory, but he worked not a whit less arduously than if that honour had been his; for it was the workers' good, not self-glory, that urged him on. Fielden, however, was too generous a man to labour under any delusions as to where credit was due. Just after the passage of the Bill, he exclaimed: "Lord Ashley is a noble fellow; his assistance to me, though out of the House, has been if possible, of greater service than if he had been in the House. Lord Ashley has never lost an opportunity of doing good to the cause—he is a man to whose exertions the successful result of the ten hours question is owing."[3]

The Bill having received Royal Assent, and being placed on the Statute Books, it now was taken for granted that a ten hours day for women and young persons was an accomplished fact: indeed, it was even believed that the hour of emancipation for *all* industrial workers had at last struck.[4] Illusion and struggle, however, were in store: legal technicalities arose; and before the issue was settled, internal tragedy struck up strident notes of discord. The valiant captain who brought to the crusade so much of faith and courage, of perseverance and wisdom, in an hour of petulance, was removed from the bridge of the ship; and, in the excitement, certain old-time comrades clamoured to have him thrown overboard as a betrayer.

[1] This Act became operative July 1, 1847. Grant, *op. cit.*, for its pertinent clauses (138–9).

[2] Hodder, ii. 193.

[3] *Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 20, 1850, 6. Fielden's generosity stands in striking contrast to the uncharitable attitude which his sons, particularly Sam, later exhibited toward Shaftesbury.

[4] The Ten Hours Act, as now passed, was not so effectively worded as the Amendment which Ashley carried in the Commons (1844), for he had expressly stipulated that all work for women and young persons should be performed between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., with two hours off for meals.

CHAPTER XV

A LEGAL QUIBBLE: (THE TEN HOURS BILL)

TREMENDOUS enthusiasm, throughout industrial districts, greeted the passage of the Ten Hours Bill. Public meetings, resolutions, receptions, tea-parties, congratulations and letters of thanks were all included in the order of the day. The names of Ashley and Fielden were lauded to the skies; while no lesser luminaries were left without the marks of favour. Even medals were struck off in commemoration of the occasion.[1] Excitement reigned supreme, and merriment danced about in carnival attire. Yet, in all this rejoicing, there was little drunkenness or debauchery; the religious leadership of the movement seemed to lay the hand of sanity and self-control upon all festivities.[2]

Everyone now imagined the struggle was over. Was not the ten hours day an accomplished fact? In future all would be well! Thankfulness and rejoicing filled the air.[3] Such jubilant optimism, however, was premature. The Ten Hours Bill was passed in a period of industrial depression, when few employers could provide even ten hours of work, and when hundreds of mills were closed for want of orders. But with a limited revival of trade the following year, certain mill-owners set about to discover ways and means of defeating the law. Had it no loopholes? By a little quibbling would it not be possible to discover legal justification for running factories beyond the restricted hours? Could not a system of "relays" and "shifts" be

[1] The Queen was sent one of these medals in recognition of her warm interest.

[2] See Shaftesbury's recollection of this event in speech to operatives, Manchester Hall, Oct. 6, 1866.

[3] In May 1847, at a London meeting of delegates, this resolution was passed: "That we are deeply grateful to Almighty God for the success which has hitherto attended our efforts, and now that the object of our labours for the last thirty years is about to be brought to a happy consummation, *we pledge ourselves to promote by every means in our power* THOSE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL BLESSINGS *which it was the object of the Bill to extend to the factory workers*" (*Halifax Guardian*, May 22, 1847).

utilized to the employer's advantage, thus questioning the letter, and defying the spirit of the law?

It was not long before certain manufacturers in Lancashire and Cheshire discovered a possible breach; and early in 1849 the introduction of relays and shifts began to threaten the whole fabric of protective enactments.[1] To understand the origin of this new menace it should be remembered that the Ten Hours Act was not passed to supplant, but to amend, the Acts of 1833 and 1844. Therefore, where no specific amendment had been formulated, these Acts were still in force.[2] The desired loop-hole, consequently, was discovered not in the Act of 1847, but in that of 1844. Section 26 enacted that hours of toil for all protected persons "*shall be reckoned from the time when any Child or young Person*[3] *shall first begin to work in the Morning in such Factory, and shall be regulated by a public Clock. . . .*"[4] The reading of this clause seems clear enough, and there can be no doubt that it was the intention of Sir James Graham, who formulated the 1844 Act, to preclude the possibility of "shift" and "relay" labour. But the lynx-eye of the law-twister discovered a breach. The Act did not positively state that the reckoning of time should be *consecutive* and *unbroken*. Therefore, it was claimed that relays were legal.

This interpretation was simply a quibble, but many manufacturers availed themselves of its protection to violate the Act, and relays and shifts became the burning subject of the day. In some mills the machinery was kept going from 5.30 a.m. till 8.30 p.m., while in many it ran from 6 a.m. till 7.30 p.m. Thus women and young persons, though perhaps not actually employed more than ten hours a day, were engaged intermittently, during these long hours, to attend on adult males, whose period of toil was not directly defined by legislation.[5] Such procedure, obviously, threatened the very existence of the Ten Hours Act, and created a problem, the solution of which brooked no delay. The proportions of this abuse are illustrated in a letter to Shaftesbury from a Stalybridge correspondent.

[1] Inspectors reported some few attempts to defeat the law as early as 1847.

[2] Hutchins and Harrison, 98.

[3] It will be remembered that in 1844 women were placed on the same legal basis as young persons (7 and 8 Vict., cap. 15, sect. 32).

[4] *Ibid.*, sect. 26; also Report of Inspector Horner, Dec. 1, 1848, in *Commissioners' Reports* (2), 1849, xxii. 134.

[5] This relay system also made it exceedingly difficult, and often impossible, for inspectors to ascertain how many hours young people and women actually worked.

"In one factory," he says, "I found 335 young persons and women working by relays: they are sent out at different times of the day, so as to bring their actual working to ten hours. They are sent out of the mill without any regard to the distance from their homes, or the state of the weather. Some of them, I ascertained, lived two miles off, and thus the half-hour, or one hour, or two hours can be turned to no good account. The lads of 13 up to 18, and the young girls and women, are wandering about the streets, and to what temptations of vice and profligacy they are thus exposed I need not say. . . ." One manager said that "the factory law had never worked so oppressively to the operatives as it does now."[1] Concerning such a system, we might expect caustic criticism from Karl Marx. But his thrust is not without a scent of truth: "The hours of rest were turned into hours of enforced idleness, which drove the youths to the pot-house and the girls to the brothel."[2]

Mill-inspectors, with one exception,[3] set their faces like flint to combat this new perversion; but they soon discovered that without a change in the law they were simply beating out their energy upon a wall of rock. No small percentage of magistrates before whom inspectors had to bring their cases were themselves mill-owners; and interested magistrates took refuge in the loose wording of Section 26, in the 1844 Act. Inspector Horner, of Manchester, worked particularly hard to frustrate this new artifice, but adverse decisions of the bench tied his hands. Little wonder then that, in these circumstances, such zealots as Stephens and Oastler came forward with new firebrands to kindle passions against employer and judge. Speaking at a Stalybridge mass meeting, August 10, 1849, Stephens exclaimed: "At Stalybridge and Ashton, law-breaking mill-owners and perjured magistrates have done whatever they liked with the abject, helpless wretches, whose hard, unhappy lot it has been to become their thralls and bondmen."[4] On this same occasion Oastler used language even more provocative than Stephens: "I am speaking advisedly," said this old warrior; "these men sworn to punish others who break the law, are yet guilty of theft every day they work the mills in which young persons and women are employed,

[1] H. of C., March 14, 1850, 886.
[2] Karl Marx, *Capital* (Eng. trans.), 277.
[3] James Stewart Inspector for Scotland (Hutchins and Harrison, 104).
[4] Already Stephens and Thomas Fielden were agitating for an *eight* hours day (*Manchester Guardian*, March 2, 1850, 8).

for more than ten hours. I say that in the worst sense of the word these magistrates are thieves and perjured men." [1]

But before Oastler and Stephens had given expression to this vituperation, the Lancashire Central Short Time Committee had taken action to test the disputed clause. Some magistrates were convicting offenders on its strength, while others dismissed charges, claiming the relay system legal.[2] The whole legislative position, accordingly, was now bewildered. Meanwhile, too, much time was lost in bickering, as cases were transferred from court to court. Finally, however, on February 8, 1850, the Court of Exchequer delivered a crushing verdict: [3] Baron Parke and his associate judges declared the relay system valid, thus leaving the workers without other resource than a new appeal to Parliament. The argument supporting this judgment is not without interest. Park declared that if the relay system were pronounced illegal, mill-owners "would thereby be deprived of the full control of their capital"; but his quaint logic went further: with the refinement of an arch-casuist, this custodian of justice affected to be standing firmly for the rights of mill-women,[4] who, by any different interpretation of the Act, "would be restricted in the employment of their labour which is their capital also." [5] *The Times*, commenting on this verdict, said: "The judgment delivered by Mr. Baron Park on Friday has, in effect, turned the Statute which was intended for the protection of women and children employed in factory labour into a mere nullity." [6]

This judgment came as a deadly blow to the Ten Hours cause.[7] But Shaftesbury's Diary comment, entered a week before the verdict, anticipated the issue: "February 1, 1850. Judges will decide adversely on factory case submitted to them, and thus legalize relays! The Attorney-General said to me this

[1] Grant, 144. In fairness to Yorkshire mill-owners, it must be noted that the shift system there gained little headway.

[2] Commissioners' Reports (2), *Parl. Papers*, 1849, xxii. 138. Horner's Report in this volume (133 ff.) gives good account of shift and relay problem.

[3] *Parl. Papers*, 1850, xlii. 479 ff.

[4] It was a favourite argument among relay defenders that "weak and elderly women" desired to break up their ten hours labour over a longer period of time, so that they would not become fatigued (Ernest von Plener, *English Factory Legislation*, 38, Eng. trans.).

[5] *Times*, Feb. 9, 1850, 7. The judges, nevertheless, admitted that it probably was the intention of Parliament, when framing the Act, to make the hours of labour consecutive and unbroken, save for meal-time.

[6] *Times*, Feb. 11, 1850. Grant has misprinted Jan. for Feb. (*op. cit.*, 144).

[7] Sam Fielden's letter in *Times*, Feb. 18, 1850, throws considerable light on "shift" labour.

afternoon: 'They will give judgment not according to law, but on policy. Judge Park,' he added, 'observed to me, "I have no doubt that the framers of the Act intended that the labour should be continuous, but, as it is a law to restrain the exercise of capital and property, it must be construed stringently."' Might not this judge have said and thought, with equal justice and more feeling, 'This is a law to restrain oppression and cruelty, and to alleviate actual slavery under a nominal freedom. I will therefore construe it liberally!'"[1]

A painful dilemma now confronted friends of the Ten Hours cause. A legal quibble threatened to rob them of the fruit of many years' toil. The Court of Exchequer had given judgment undermining the whole working of the 1847 Act. It had declared "shifts and relays" perfectly legal. Hence manufacturers, who before had conscientiously abstained from this system of procedure, were now encouraged to adopt it. The inevitable result, therefore, was to establish an alarming increase in a method of employment which spread the hours of labour between 5.30 a.m. and 8.30 p.m., and which made it well-nigh impossible for inspectors to ascertain how many hours per day any particular individual worked. The situation was sufficient to perplex the wisest of men. A problem presented itself demanding speedy solution. But, under the circumstances, could any solution be attained without some concession? Could the verdict of a superior tribunal, backed by the most influential Ministers, be lightly set aside, or easily overthrown? Was it the part of wisdom to come to reasonable terms with a Government, well known to have passed a Ten Hours Act because of the pressure of circumstances—not from desire?[2] Or was it advisable to hold out dogmatically for unmodified rights, even when it was evident that the full measure of justice was, for the time being, unattainable? Behind such questions lurked a venomous fang; and no matter which way one turned, that fang shot forth. Nevertheless, these questions contained within themselves the crux of the whole situation; and in striving for an equitable solution, Ashley was harassed on every side. On the one hand he might demand immediate abolition of the hated shift system

[1] Hodder, ii. 199.

[2] It must be remembered that Russell, Grey and Macaulay were in favour of an eleven, not a ten, hours day, though they helped pass the Ten Hours Act. Also the Peelites, who refrained from voting when the Bill was in Committee, were at heart bitter opponents of the Act, and wanted a *twelve* hours day.

and stand out for the full rights of the Ten Hours Act, spurning even the suggestion of compromise. But he was an experienced statesman, and he knew the certain result of such procedure would be not only to tantalize a none-too-friendly Government, with strong leanings toward the doctrine of non-control, but also to encourage the erection of further obstacles against law enforcement. Again, such a course, he dared not forget, would be almost certain to sacrifice women, young persons and children to the continued injustices of the relay system. On the other hand, if, to procure the abolition of these abuses, he departed a hair's breadth from the nominal gains of the Act, or conceded one jot or tittle of its privileges, a whole group of agitators, to whom all issues were black or white, stood ready to denounce him as a traitor.[1]

Such a position no statesman could have relished. But to Shaftesbury's sensitive temperament it was doubly harassing. Many a heartache, therefore, was caused him, as with nice discretion he balanced possibilities; and many a slander was hurled at his head by old companions, who, knowing little regarding the complexities of legislative procedure,[2] and less concerning the subtleties of Parliamentary psychology, were quite incompetent to see other than their own side of the case; but who, nevertheless, were ready to anathematize all whose larger knowledge afforded a clearer vision of the road to be pursued. The solution of this dilemma was Shaftesbury's Gethsemane; and, like his Christ, whom he strove to follow, he found himself, in the hour of anguish, forsaken even by old friends. Yet, after weighing all evidence, and devoting himself to meditation and prayer, he set his face toward the cross, knowing well that such a course meant crucifixion of reputation and prestige, in the camp where he had served so faithfully and long; but, nevertheless, sustained by faith that one day, in a purer light, when passions had dissolved and facts were understood, there would be a resurrection of confidence.

But to understand fully the reason why Shaftesbury chose the road of mediation, we must look farther back. In the spring of 1848, with a slight revival of trade, the Home Secretary,

[1] In this camp were such famous fighters as Oastler, Stephens, Bull, Samuel and Thomas Fielden, Cobbett, Walker, etc.

[2] The interrelation of the Acts of 1833, 1844, and 1847 made procedure doubly difficult, for it was found impossible to provide an effective amendment without, simultaneously, creating new loopholes of escape for those who had given only lukewarm, or involuntary, support to the Ten Hours Bill.

Sir George Grey, was "overwhelmed with petitions from employers," asserting the right of the relay system, complaining of inspectors' interference, and attacking the Ten Hours Act. The result was that as early as August 5, 1848, the Home Secretary actually sent out a circular recommending inspectors—"not to lay informations against the mill-owners for a breach of the letter of the Act, or for employment of young persons by relays,[1] in cases in which there is no reason to believe that such young persons have been actually employed for a longer period than that sanctioned by law."[2] This, of course, was an open blow at inspectors' authority; and, accordingly, some magistrates simply dismissed complaints "without even taking trouble to justify their decision."[3] Consequently, the position developing bordered on chaos, and threatened to undermine the work of years. A Manchester manufacturer declared: "If there were twenty inspectors we could defy them all if working by relays were allowed." Inspector Saunders was forced to a similar conclusion; while Inspector Horner declared that, if relays were sanctioned, "no practical system of inspection could prevent extensive fraudulent overworking."[4]

But employers' petitions, the Home Secretary's circular, and interested magistrates were by no means the only obstacles to law enforcement. The fearful depression following the bad harvests of 1845–6 made it easier to pass the Ten Hours Bill in 1847; for few employers could then provide even ten hours' labour. But with a revival of trade, 1848–9, the tables were turned. Orders began to pour in; and the years of dearth had only made manufacturers more avaricious for gain. Consequently they were now in a pugnacious mood. Then, too, protracted idleness had plunged many workers into debt, and some were glad of the opportunity of working longer than ten hours to make up for lost time, and thus lift from their shoulders the accumulated burden of the lean years.[5] Hence petitions demanding repeal of the Ten Hours Act were signed by not a few *workmen* and forwarded to the Government. True, some

[1] Grey, nevertheless, was a nominal supporter of the Ten Hours Act.
[2] *Parl. Papers*, 1849, xxii. 134; Ernest von Plener, *English Factory Legislation*, 39; Hutchins and Harrison, 103.
[3] Hutchins and Harrison, 103.
[4] *Parl. Papers*, 1849, xxii. 135.
[5] An examination of evidence contained in Appendix to Horner's Report, Dec. 1, 1848, shows that economic problems made many *workers* favour a *twelve*-hour day (27–75).

petitioners afterwards, on examination, declared that they had been forced to sign " on pain of dismissal " [1]; and this explanation may, in many cases, have been authentic, for such intimidation was not unknown. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt whatever that the accumulated pressure of preceding years had produced a desperation in the minds of not a few workmen which, in itself, was sufficient to drive them to such a course.[2]

Still further difficulty, however, impeded the working of the Ten Hours Act. Would it be possible effectively to amend the Act of 1844 without creating a loophole of escape for Cabinet Ministers, including the Prime Minister and Home Secretary, who, although they supported the Ten Hours Bill, were confessedly in favour of an eleven hours day? Government leaders had made no small concession when, desiring eleven hours of labour, they finally supported the Ten Hours measure; and unquestionably, the feeling that their concession was great, made them more sympathetic toward the employers' position. Bearing in mind this fact then, and also remembering that advocates of relay labour were making capital of the argument that ten hours' broken toil was more conducive to the health of women and youths than the same period of consecutive labour,[3] would it have been wise to trample rough-shod over the Government's proposals? Could such procedure hold out any hope of success? It was only with the Administration's help that relays could be abolished; would it, then, have been good tactics to turn a deaf ear to any Government suggestions? Again, was it possible even to formulate an effective amendment, overcoming the loose wording of the 1844 clause, without incorporating new restrictions, and thus releasing the eleven hours men, who held the balance of Parliamentary power, from further obligations toward the Ten Hours cause? Furthermore, could shifts and relays be abolished without a larger limitation on the motive power of industry? Was there not

[1] " Alfred," *op. cit.*, i. 317 f.; Hutchins and Harrison 99.

[2] The evidence of a certain widow before Inspector Horner is typical of scores of cases recorded: " No. 133, a married woman, a widow with two children. *A frame tender* in card room. Is getting 8s. a week, and would get 9s. 6d. if working twelve hours. Would prefer for herself the ten hours, with less wages; but in her circumstances she would work twelve hours if she could get the higher wages." See also evidence of Nos. 134, 135, 136, 137, 235 and 240 in Report, Dec. 1, 1849.

[3] Not a few inconsistencies marked the progress of argument against the Ten Hours Bill. In 1833 it was argued that young persons really needed no protection at all, and that women should be " *free* " to make their own contracts and to work what hours they pleased.

crying need for positive legislation stipulating the *exact range of hours* during which women, young persons and children could be legally employed ?

These problems Ashley clearly saw and squarely met ; but, without reflection on other workers, it must be admitted that few of his colleagues appreciated the delicate nature of the situation confronting them. Such veterans as Oastler and Stephens, Walker and Bull, had, each in his own way, rendered magnificent service, but none of them had sufficient knowledge of Parliamentary procedure to understand the niceties of the problem now in hand ; whereas, of such recruits as the younger Cobbett, and the relatives of John Fielden, this characteristic was doubly true.[1] The situation, however, is briefly stated in Ashley's Diary, March 5, 1849 : " The Ten Hours law in jeopardy : God gave it us in His mercy, and admirably has it worked, no reduction in wages,[2] no flight of capital, no misuse of vacant hours, nay, the reverse of all this. Some of the masters, a small, thank God, though powerful minority, have discovered a means of evasion. The Government say that they cannot prevent it, and they will, therefore, partially legalize it. Here is fresh toil, fresh anxiety. Would to God it were settled for ever." [3]

The Government's willingness to wink at, even to legalize, the relay system ! Here lay the rub !

Shortly after John Fielden's death, June 1849, clouds, destined to break in a mighty storm, began to gather over Shaftesbury's head. The Home Secretary, who, in August 1848, had sent out a circular advising inspectors to take no action against employers for instituting relays, now entertained a deputation of mill-owners ; and it was reported that, consequently, he stood ready to *legalize* shift labour.[4] This report aroused the ire of Short Time Committees ; but when rumour spread about that Ashley had received two members of this employers' deputation, and had

[1] On the other hand, Wood, Grant, Brotherton, and *all the Workers' Delegates* to London approved of Ashley's action.

[2] Examination of Inspectors' Reports, vol. xxii., *Parl. Papers*, 1849, shows that in most cases there had at first taken place a reduction of wages. But later, wages rose, so that pay for the shorter day equalled that of the longer.

[3] Hodder, ii. 198.

[4] *Manchester Guardian*, June 13, 1849, 6. This employers' delegation claimed to have signatures representing two-thirds of the Kingdom's cotton industry. The report of this conference with Grey was copied from *Manchester Guardian* to *Halifax Guardian* of June 16th, under the ominous title, " Ministerial Treachery to Ten Hours Bill," and phrases reflecting on Grey were there printed in italics.

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discussed disputed problems in friendly fashion, the anger of many field-leaders burst into scorching flame. Immediately Shaftesbury's attitude was misrepresented; he was accused of compromising the whole situation. It was reported that he had agreed to a sixty-one hours week, and that, with the Short Time Committee's consent, he was even prepared to accept an eleven hours day.[1]

Such statements were not only misleading, but untrue. Shaftesbury had indeed received two members of the employers' deputation, but this was done because he knew that mutual understanding was essential to any effective settlement; and moreover he felt that such a conference afforded an opportunity of impressing upon his opponents' minds the justice of the workers' claims. Then, too, it must be remembered that Shaftesbury accepted leadership of the Ten Hours Cause on the positive understanding that the battle was to be fought by propaganda, publicity and conversion; and that all suggestion of strikes, violence or revenge must be set aside.[2] His reception of the employers' deputation, therefore, was simply carrying out the spirit of an agreement, which to him was a sacred covenant. He desired to convert manufacturers by the justice of his cause, not to compel them by the pressure of a "big stick"; for he knew the insecurity of forced contracts. Therefore, to correct misunderstanding, he lost no time in dispatching a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, explaining the nature of the much-discussed "compromise":—"In the last number of your paper there is a mis-statement, which, I trust, you will correct. In the report of the proceedings of the deputation of mill-owners I am reported as giving some approval of an *eleven hours* Bill. The facts of the case are these: Two gentlemen did me the honour to wait on me, and put into my hands, though, as they said, not officially, the plan proposed by the masters. I told them that the law was now the property and right of the factory workers; that I could not say aye or no to the proposition; it was for the operatives to determine whether they would surrender the whole, or any part of it, or stand upon their full rights. I added that, so far as I was concerned, I should be ready to consider the

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, June 13, 1849.

[2] This agreement was, on the whole, carried through with remarkable exactitude. Neither strikes nor intimidation played any part in all Shaftesbury's gains. A religious, not a revengeful, spirit guided the whole struggle. Yet England, under Shaftesbury's leadership, led the world in industrial legislation.

proposal of ten hours and a half of labour (provided that labour were taken between the hours of six and six), and probably accede to it if such were the views of the workers in factories. Of an *eleven hours Bill* I spoke as an arrangement utterly inadmissible,[1] and stated that I would never, myself, assent to the imposition of that full period of toil on a little girl that has just completed her thirteenth year. I expressed and again express my ardent desire to accomplish a satisfactory adjustment of this great question." [2]

This letter Shaftesbury sent to press [3] to clarify the atmosphere; but, unfortunately, it had the opposite effect. To his "die-hard" lieutenants the general was guilty of "compromising" the whole situation, because, after thoroughly surveying his ground, he proposed an amicable solution, by mutual concession. Such leaders as Oastler and Stephens, however, hated the very word—"concession." It stank in their nostrils, and was nauseating to their taste; it was as a red flag to an infuriated bull. These irreconcilables, therefore, lost no time in branding Shaftesbury as a traitor. To them he was guilty of the arch-treachery of opening their lines to assault.

Rarely did Shaftesbury say anything in public to defend himself from these attacks by old-time comrades.[4] They might breed division, but he would do nothing to extend the rift. Yet, in the secrecy of his chamber, his Diary recorded impulses heaving deep within his breast. On October 4, 1849, he wrote: "The Ten Hours agitation still alive. Mr. Oastler and the Rev. Stephens have seized the opportunity to revile me and place themselves at the head of the operatives; but I rejoice to say that the operatives neither will believe them nor accept

[1] Shaftesbury was more exacting than thousands of the workers themselves; for of the factory workmen examined by Horner and his sub-commissioners, as to their satisfaction with a ten-hour day, considerably over one-third expressed the desire for either an *eleven*- or *twelve*-hour day. And of the *women* questioned, nearly half desired the longer hours (Appendix to Horner's Report, Dec. 1, 1848). Even as ardent a workers' advocate as W. J. Fox *only* claimed that 60 per cent. of the workers favoured a ten hours day; and the majority of those opposed wanted a full twelve hours day, in order to earn more money (Hansard, June 14, 1850, 1240).

[2] *Manchester Guardian*, June 20, 1849.

[3] Shaftesbury was forced into the press, for it was through this medium that misrepresentations of his interview had been circulated. The issue of *Manchester Guardian* publishing Shaftesbury's letter contained also the account of an interview between Grey and certain Ten-Hour representatives, who opposed the mere suggestion of compromise. Walker and Sam Fielden were their chief spokesmen.

[4] Once he answered an attack in the Commons, but made no reference to Oastler, Stephens, Fielden, Cobbett or Walker, and carefully avoided *all* personalities.

them. This matter must be speedily determined by an appeal to one of the superior courts; it is disgraceful that the Home Secretary has so long neglected this pressing necessity." [1]

Scarcely a month later, Shaftesbury made another entry, expressing still stronger emotion and throwing penetrating light upon the problem he faced: "Nov. 1st.—Mr. Oastler and a crew of others (I can use no milder term) including Sam Fielden (why he?) are denouncing and reviling me in every society, by day and by night, in speech and on paper, as a traitor and a thousand other things, to the Ten Hours Bill. God knows my sincerity, my labours, vexations, losses, injuries to health, fortune, comfort, position in that cause. It is true I told the work-people that I would assent (if *they* would assent, but not without) to the concession of *half* an hour, providing they received in return the immediate and final settlement of the question, and the limitation of the range from *fifteen* to *twelve* hours, a concession the masters alone could make. Here is my offence, and I am too busy, and also too tired to begin a controversial defence. Like Hezekiah, I 'spread it before the Lord.' . . . I wish I could be cheerful, but mirth has perished." [2]

Three months after this entry came the fatal verdict of the Court of Exchequer. With astute appreciation of the circumstances involved, Shaftesbury had anticipated the decision; yet the blow caused pain: "Feb. 15th.—Adverse judgment in the Court of Exchequer. Great remedial measure, the Ten Hours Act, nullified. The work to be done all over again; and I seventeen years older than when I began! [3] But as I did not commence, so neither will I renew it, in my own strength. My sufficiency, if there be any, is of God." [4] In these last two sentences we have the secret of Shaftesbury's perseverance. At this moment he found himself cast out from his father's mansion as a dangerous agitator, yet disinherited by old-time comrades as a blue-blooded aristocrat, betraying the workers' trust; half-pitied by politicians as a man of brilliant parts side-tracked by small affairs,[5] and caricatured by smart society as a religious

[1] Hodder, ii. 198.

[2] *Ibid.*, 198–9.

[3] Mr. and Mrs. Hammond (*Lord Shaftesbury*, 135-6), while emphasizing Shaftesbury's "*weariness*" and blaming *him* for the "*compromise*," break off this quotation here without any indication that it is not complete.

[4] Hodder, ii. 199.

[5] Had Shaftesbury been content to follow in well-beaten paths of party politics, leadership of the Conservative party would probably have come within his grasp, and possibly the Premiership.

fanatic, interfering with the " personal liberties " of a " free " people. Misunderstanding or antagonism confronted him on all sides. Irreconcilables from right and left wings stigmatized him as an impostor. Yet, seldom did the light of his faith flicker, and never was it extinguished. The road was steep and thorny, and many obstacles obstructed his track ; nevertheless he pressed on, inspired by the conviction that the labours to which he had set his hand were divinely ordained, and firmly believing that the God who called him to His service, would sustain him to the end : " My sufficiency, if there be any, is of God."

Four days after Park delivered his verdict, Ashley raised this whole question in the Commons,[1] urging immediate steps " to obviate the very evil consequences of that decision " ; and on March 14, 1850, he obtained leave to introduce an amending Bill. Meanwhile, events, significant and far-reaching, were following in rapid succession. It was only on the understanding that the *range* of hours be reduced from fifteen to twelve, and on condition that the labourers themselves were willing, that Shaftesbury agreed to the idea of an additional half-hour of work, as a possible basis for discussion. And that a considerable proportion of workers were agreeable to this proposition is certain ; for inspectors' reports show that at this time *40 per cent. of the workers* wanted more than ten hours of labour.[2]

But the radical wing, including Sam Fielden, John's eldest son, protested so strongly against this " compromise " that Shaftesbury set aside the idea of concession and determined to do his utmost to formulate and carry through Parliament an amending Bill, which, while conserving the workers' full gains, would impose stricter limitation on " motive power," thus counteracting the now-legalized trickery of shifts and relays.[3]

A letter in *The Times*, February 20, 1850, from Ashley to Thomas Mawdsley, Secretary of the Lancashire Central Short Time Committee, is interesting reading here ; for it shows how completely Shaftesbury's devotion to the cause rose above any sense of wounded pride. While others were sowing seeds of division, he was doing his utmost to uproot weeds, and implant

[1] The year after resignation from Parliament Ashley was returned for Bath (1847).

[2] Commissioners' Report, *Parl. Papers*, xxii ; Hodder, ii. 208.

[3] Both Hindley and Brotherton were agreeable to an *eleven*-hour day as a concession for the limitation of motive power (*Manchester Guardian*, " Ten Hours Bill," Feb. 20, 1850).

peace. *Personally*, after carefully considering the problem, he was convinced that the workers' interests could best be served by agreeing to a slight concession in return for a great boon. Numerous agitators, however, thought otherwise; and Ashley's letter indicates how unreservedly he was willing to subdue his own policy, in order that the workers' friends might present a united front. His letter, therefore, emphasized anew both the principles for which the operatives stood and the justice of their cause; regarding the wisdom of any concession he maintained discreet silence:

LONDON, *Feb. 15th.*

GENTLEMEN,—You have done me the honour to ask my advice in the present crisis. It is not difficult to give you an answer, though it may be difficult to say how you may attain your end. I advise you firmly, perseveringly and respectfully to maintain your rights—the rights of a limitation of labour to ten hours a day for all young persons; and that such labour be not given by fits and starts, by shifts and relays, but continuously from the hour at which it is begun. I advise you to send up petitions, memorials, and every other authentic expression of feeling to the Houses of Parliament and to people in authority. I advise you, also, to send up a deputation which shall see, if possible, every member of the Legislature, and state your just claims.

I am at a loss to understand the grounds of opposition. You simply require the correction of an oversight in an Act—an Act brought in by Sir James Graham when Sir F. Pollock was Attorney-General. The judges in their decision admit that the intention of the Legislature was to impose continuous labour; you ask no more than that such intention should be carried into effect.

This is simple justice; and no one surely may meet you with arguments of policy. But should any one do so your reply is ready. Nearly two years of experience have proved that everything urged by your opponents during the conflict to obtain the measure, has not only failed, but has issued in the very reverse. Has ruin stalked over the manufacturing districts? Has capital quitted the country? Have your wages been reduced to the *minimum* of subsistence? Has the produce of cotton goods been diminished? Nay, is it not a fact that in all these respects you are better under the ten hours than you were under the twelve hours system? Has your time been ill-spent in the skittle-ground or pot-house? Is not the contrary the truth, that the operatives have betaken themselves to many useful employments or harmless recreations, to the cultivation of gardens, allotments, and to other pursuits? Have not hundreds of young women, from 18 upwards, attended evening schools in order that they might learn to read, to knit, to sew, and all the various items, in short, of domestic necessity? All this is true, and all this must be undone, if we do not succeed in applying a remedy to the decision of the Court of Exchequer.

But the Act is your right, and it rests with you to obtain its intended provisions. I see no reason to believe that Parliament will have changed its opinion; I see no reason to believe that the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who were among your best friends in 1846, will be less so in 1850; and for myself, I can safely say that, although not so young as when I began this great question 17 years ago, I am prepared, however reluctant, to renew the struggle; and give, by God's blessing, what little may remain of energy and strength to the cause to which I have already devoted the best portion of my life.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend and servant,

ASHLEY.

The Central Short Time Committee of Lancashire.[1]

Two days after this letter was written, a delegates' meeting *nominally* representing the national Short Time Committees, was held in Manchester to discuss problems arising out of Judge Parks's decision. But unfortunately its procedure, influenced by Sam Fielden and J. M. Cobbett, degenerated partly into a squabble over "Ashley's compromise"; and after considerable bickering, it was resolved to safeguard the workers from their old leader's indiscretion, by asking Lord John Manners and George Bankes to join Ashley in piloting an Amendment; it being implied that these two gentlemen would keep guard over any indiscretions of the veteran chief. This decision, obviously, was a slap at Ashley; and although he himself did nothing to counteract the blow, his supporters immediately called a second meeting, composed of *officially appointed* delegates, in order to remove reproach from their old captain. At this meeting it became abundantly clear that Sam Fielden was leading an agitation against Ashley; and during discussion it was emphatically charged that the previous conference had been *packed* with *strangers and agitators*. The *Central Short Time Committee*, therefore, had "deemed it necessary to call a second meeting on account of the unfair means that had been adopted to pack the meeting held on the previous Sunday, by a few persons not at all connected with the factories, and who appear to be dividing

[1] This letter is immediately preceded in *The Times* (Feb. 20, 1850) by Mawdsley's letter to Ashley, Feb. 11th, which *informed* him of an impending conference of workers' delegates in Manchester, on Feb. 17th. This conference was organized by Sam Fielden without Ashley's knowledge. Moreover, it was under the domination of the new "Committee for the Protection of the Ten Hours Act," an organization formed, apparently, to challenge Ashley's leadership.

the workmen, with a view to prolonging the agitation."[1] Delegates to this second assembly, consequently, were appointed from all industrial districts on the basis of *proportional representation*, and were admitted by cards proving them *bona fide* representatives. Here the resolution of the previous gathering was rescinded and a new one passed, expressing *entire confidence in the integrity and ability of Lord Ashley*,[2] while also, Manners and Bankes were politely requested to render assistance in passing a new Bill. But this move, in turn, caused turmoil within the die-hard camp, and Sam Fielden lost no time in summoning a third and *open* meeting, which, assembling the following Sunday, March 3rd, proceeded to reaffirm the resolution of the first, and to caricature the Central Short Time Committee as a self-appointed body which had done little to further and much to compromise the workers' cause. The derogatory purpose of this third conference, however, was not easily achieved: "A large portion of the morning sitting was consumed in discussing the *competency of Mr. Fielden to call the meeting*, and a vote of censure on the Central Committee was only passed after "long and stormy discussion"; for no small proportion of those present supported "an amendment that the confidence of the meeting in the Committee remained unshaken."[3]

Open wrangling was now smashing the ranks of the crusade.

Such dissensions, however, were the fruit of an unfortunate precedent, for prior to these events there had sprung into being a new organization, "The Committee for the Protection of the Ten Hours Act." This Committee was instrumental in convoking the fatal Manchester meeting on February 17th: and of its hostility to Ashley it made no secret.[4] At this juncture,

[1] These words referred to the instigators of the new "Committee for the Protection of the Ten Hours Act," instrumental in convoking the first meeting (Feb. 17th). At this second meeting Sam Fielden, who had attacked Ashley for being too autocratic, stated that "he (Fielden) would follow the operatives, if they went right—if they did not he could not follow them." In other words to Fielden, Ashley was acting deplorably if, in the light of long experience, he was guided by his own judgment; while, on the other hand, he himself, a comparative recruit, claimed liberty to defy the workers, if their opinions differed from his own.

[2] *Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 20 and 27, 1850; *Halifax Guardian*, Feb. 23rd and March 2nd.

[3] *Manchester Guardian*, March 6th; *Halifax Guardian*, March 9, 1850.

[4] Mr. J. L. Hammond (*op. cit.*, chapter on "Ten Hours Compromise") throws valuable light on proceedings at this juncture. But it is plain from Mawdsley's letter to Ashley that this "Central Committee for Protection of the Ten Hours Act" was formed *before*, and not, as Mr. Hammond suggests,

therefore, the cause was confronted with undisguised division; and Ashley's Diary shows that the Home Secretary was prepared to make capital of that division, by standing out for an *eleven* hours day: "March 11th, 1850.—Saw Grey; he proposes, in fact, an Eleven Hours Bill, and admitted that it was so, offering at the same time advantages in the reduction of the range from 15 to 12½ hours; all mills to close at six o'clock. He would not interdict relays, and by permitting them (he will) enable masters to work for eleven hours; why this? All has prospered under the ten hours, why thus propitiate Bright and Ashworth? Evasions would be universal; detection impossible." [1]

Shaftesbury was now subjected to no small disadvantage. Nevertheless, on March 14th, after a lively Parliamentary discussion, and a brisk duel with Bright,[2] he obtained permission to introduce a new Bill. The gaining of this permission was no small advantage, and Diary comments show that, in spite of ominous difficulties, he was hopeful. "March 14th.—Grey fearful, vacillating, showing no principle—matters appear well; if all goes on as it has begun we shall prosper. To-day is the day of trial." "March 15th.—The case was unanswerable, the House with me, Grey weak, vacillating, quibbling on legal points, yet admitting the truth of the asserted improvements. Bright and Gibson angry, though subdued." [3] The speech whereby Shaftesbury won leave to introduce an amending Bill is a terse statement of problems arising from shift and relay labour. With intimate knowledge of every detail, he laid bare all pertinent facts; and when he was done, he had demonstrated to Parliament that the full privileges of the Ten Hours Act were the just right of the workers. His concluding words illustrate the tenor of his appeal: "You are not called on to begin afresh; the blessed work is already half accomplished,

after these bickerings, because it was under pressure from this very Committee that the Manchester meeting of "delegates" was held on Feb. 17th. Mawdsley's letter to Shaftesbury, Feb. 11th, reads, in part, as follows: "My Lord,—You will see by the enclosed circular that in consequence of the recent decision of the judges in the case of 'Mills *v.* Ryder,' the *Central Committee for the Protection of the Ten Hours Act* have deemed it to be of the greatest importance to call a meeting of delegates of the factory workers of Great Britain and Ireland on Sunday next, the 17th inst., at ten o'clock in the morning" (*Times*, Feb. 20, 1850). Mr. Hammond's conclusion seems to be based on the one-sided evidence contained in Sam Fielden's letter, read before the meeting he convened on March 3rd.

[1] Hodder, ii. 201.

[2] Hansard, March 14, 1850, 932–3. On the whole, however, Bright was more moderate than on previous occasions (*ibid.*, 918 ff.).

[3] Hodder, ii. 201.

and you are now only besought not to destroy it. Formerly, Sir, I appealed to the humanity of the legislature; I do so no more, for I stand on our Magna Charta, on our accorded rights; and feeling convinced as I do, from the bottom of my soul, that this question secures the temporal and eternal welfare of many thousands, I appeal alone, in the name of Almighty God, to the justice and honour of Parliament." [1]

Having gained permission to introduce an Amendment, Ashley betook himself in earnest to drafting a measure which would abolish relays, without simultaneously incorporating such new restrictions as might open an avenue of escape to those who reluctantly had supported the Ten Hours cause, and who now, under changed conditions of trades, avowedly favoured an eleven hours day. But, although Ashley had never been blind to the difficulties of his task, it was only when engaged in formulating the desired Bill that he fully discovered the complications involved. The best legal advisers all assured him that his purpose could never be attained without introducing new and stringent clauses regulating the hours for meal-time; and such procedure was certain to evoke bitter opposition. The difficulties involved are reflected in a letter from Shaftesbury to the Secretary of the Central Short Time Committee of Lancashire. This letter was written on April 27, 1850, and three days later appeared in *The Times*:

SIR,—It is desirable the operatives should learn as soon as possible the position of the Factory Bill. Various attempts have been made to draw an effective clause for the prohibition of relays, but without success. A conference has lately been held between Mr. Cobbett and his friends, and the solicitor who drew the Bill. They took the advice of the ablest counsel, and the result was a very powerful and sufficient clause for the attainment of the purpose. It contains, however, much new matter for the regulation of meal-times, and exposes us to these difficulties: first, it is contrary to my statement in the House, that I would not swerve by a hair's breadth to the right hand or the left, but simply touch what was disputed; secondly, it would give rise to much debate and opposition; thirdly, it would detach from me many members who are ready to fulfil the engagements of Parliament, but not to go one step beyond them.[2] The position then, is this:

[1] Hansard, March 14, 1850, 897. Bankes, a strong friend of the Cause, who supported Shaftesbury's request, made a grave mistake in strategy by stating openly that the workers' purpose was to restrict the labour of *adult males* to ten hours (*ibid.*, 912). Gibson referred to Shaftesbury's speech as "*socialist and sentimental in tone.*"

[2] Many sources make it clear that this was the outstanding difficulty.

to urge a clause which appears to be valueless (the clause in the present Bill) and which might probably be violated immediately after it had received the Royal assent, seems absurd in itself and a waste of time; to adopt the clause proposed by the conference would, I fear, involve the postponement of the measure to another session [1]—it must certainly be preceded by an explanation. Which of these hazards do you prefer?

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ASHLEY.[2]

The Central Committee, replying to Ashley's inquiry, decided in favour of the "very powerful and sufficient clause," at the same time reaffirming adherence to the ten hours principle. Shortly before this, moreover, four delegates appointed by the Manchester meeting, February 17th, had been sent to London to lobby for the workers' Bill. Accordingly, on April 30th, Shaftesbury gave notice of his intention to move the adopted clause. But the legislative atmosphere was far from favourable to its acceptance; for even the four delegates, all of whom were stoutly pledged to the "simple restoration of the ten hours day," quickly realized that if anything was to be gained, some concession must be made. Indeed, *The Times*, May 14th, some three weeks after the event, records the fact that these workers' delegates had an interview with John Walter, proprietor of that paper, who suggested as an amicable solution, a ten-and-a-half-hour day in return for a twelve-hour range of labour: and it appears that the delegates were much impressed by the mutual advantages of such a course.[3]

Following this interview, there appeared in *The Times*, April 25th, over the signature "Manufacturer," a letter emphasizing the wisdom and desirability of just such a solution as Walter and the delegates had discussed.[4] As this letter excited much controversy, we quote in full:

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—A plan has been suggested to the Government by some mill-owners, who are desirous that this Act should be honestly carried

[1] Grey, more than once, had declared that it was only by mutual concession that anything could be accomplished that session; and the Prime Minister took a similar stand (*Manchester Guardian*, June 13, 1849).

[2] *Times*, April 30, 1850, reports a Manchester meeting of delegates to which this letter was read.

[3] Hammond, 140.

[4] Various speeches at delegates' meetings make it plain that *all* delegates to London came to favour the "concession" scheme.

out, and that the system of working by shifts and relays should be prevented, which would effect the object more simply and more certainly than the plan proposed in Lord Ashley's Bill, now before the House of Commons. It is this—that none of the persons whose labour is now regulated by Factory Acts shall be employed before six o'clock in the morning, nor after six o'clock in the evening; and that, between those limits, an hour and a half shall be allowed for the meals of young persons and women: and further, that they shall *not be employed after two o'clock on Saturday*, with half an hour for breakfast on that day. This makes exactly 60 hours per week, or an average of 10 hours per day, thus giving, in truth, all that was originally contended for, but in a better way.

The important point of an early stopping of work in the evening is secured, and, what is of very great importance to the work-people, a long afternoon on Saturday is also gained. Two hours and a half are taken from the 10 hours on Saturday, and distributed equally over the other five days of the week, and that without the necessity of beginning work before six o'clock in the morning.

At present the workers subject to the law must stop at half-past four o'clock on Saturdays, but they may be employed from half-past 5 a.m. with an hour and a half off for meals—making 9½ hours to make up 58 hours a week—if they have worked less on preceding days.

The plan proposed makes 60 hours a week, and while the additional 2 hours will be a gain to the masters, and to the work-people who are paid by piece-work, they will in no degree interfere with the primary—indeed, the sole object of the Factory Acts, viz.—full leisure for the moral and social improvement of the great mass of the persons employed in that description of labour.[1]

It is very much to be wished that Lord Ashley would substitute this plan for his own, or that Government should bring in a Bill to carry it through.

I am, Sir,
Yours sincerely,
A MANUFACTURER.[2]

Eight days after the appearance of this letter, Grey climbed down from his eleven hours stand and proclaimed the Government's acceptance of the proposed solution, announcing simultaneously his intention of introducing a Bill incorporating the

[1] These words are suggestive of the fact that, just as was the case in the Emancipation fight, so in Ten Hours struggle religious motives inspired the crusade.

[2] *Times*, April 25, 1850, in a leading article, after emphasizing its long and hearty support of the workers' cause, speaks of the suggested solution as emanating from "a spirit of temperance and moderation"; as designed to leave behind it the minimum of "bitterness and exasperation," and as appearing to "secure the operatives in full possession of the points for which they are contending, without inflicting upon their opponents the humiliation of a direct defeat." Many workers believed this "Manufacturer's" letter was "inspired" by *The Times*.

mutual concessions suggested. This Government move registered no small advance. It met the workers' demands more than half-way, because while the proposed "compromise" limited the range of hours from 15 to 12, the so-called 10½ hours day, demanded in return, meant only an addition of 2 hours' labour per week;[1] for whereas, during five days of the week, labour was to be increased from 10 to 10½ hours, on Saturday it was to be decreased from at least 8 hours to 7½. Such an offer then implied complete abolition of shifts and relays; it meant an average, throughout each working day, of exactly 10 hours' toil, and it ensured to labourers invariable cessation of work on Saturdays at two o'clock, thus guaranteeing almost a full half-holiday at the end of the week.[2] These, then, were exactly the terms which Shaftesbury had expressed his willingness to consider, as a possible basis for settlement. The Government had made a concession which could not be overlooked, and was backed by the judgment of most moderate men. Would Shaftesbury have been wise then, because of opposition, to turn a blind eye to such a gesture? Would it have been true service to the operatives to repel such an offer, when, after much consideration, he felt certain it expressed the limit of Government concession?

For some days Shaftesbury weighed the issue. He felt convinced that only one reasonable course lay open; and all the workers' delegates to London, after careful investigation, shared his conviction. Yet, on the other hand, he knew that the Short Time Committees would stubbornly oppose any such compromise; for between the propaganda of Oastler and Stephens and the antagonism of the new "Committee for the Protection of the Ten Hours Act," backed by Sam Kelden, Cobbett and Walker, much dissension had already been bred. This period of hesitation, however, was not long. On May 7th, Ashley's Diary indicates determination: "Harassed day after day by this Factory Bill—impossible to get a straight clause to prohibit relays; tried many and failed,[3] have resolved then, as

[1] Workers received pay for this extra time; because wages were paid either on a piece-work or hourly basis.

[2] This point carried great weight with Shaftesbury, because it provided the workers with a weekly period for recreation (Ernest von Plener, *English Factory Legislation*, 42).

[3] Cobbett was now convinced that "the very powerful and sufficient clause," drawn by five "eminent counsel," including himself, "would not prevent relays." Nevertheless, the introduction of this clause represented Shaftesbury's *third* Parliamentary attempt to overcome the difficulty (*Times*, May 14, 1850, 8; *Halifax Guardian*, May 25, 1850).

only hope of getting anything good and secure for the operatives, to accept Government's amendments. I am sure that they are the best terms that ever will be offered, and probably this is the last time of their being offered. I fear, too, division among the operatives, for, if some reject, some will accept the terms; once divided they are lost, the masters will effect an Eleven Hours Bill!" [1] Next day's Diary shows that this resolve had been carried into action. Ashley had cast the die, knowing a whirlwind of passion would soon be raging round his head: 'May 8th.—Harassed exceedingly by Factory affair—resolved to adopt clauses of Government, and wrote a letter to *The Times* announcing it. Expect from the manufacturing districts a storm of violence and hatred. I might have taken a more popular and balanced course, but I should have ruined the question; one more easy to myself, but far from *true* to the people." [2]

The Times published this letter on May 8th. It was addressed to the Short Time Committees of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and contained in part the reasons for Shaftesbury's decision; though other reasons of a delicate nature, which he felt prudent to keep to himself, added weight to his resolution. Shaftesbury has been criticized for, on this occasion, announcing his decision in the press, without awaiting the judgment of the Short Time Committees; [3] but such criticism misses the mark. He knew perfectly well what the verdict of these Committees would be; for while he alone among operatives' leaders was conversant with the legislative difficulties involved, and was striving hard to solve them, popular agitators, urged on by the "Committee for Protection of the Ten Hours Act," were assuring the workers that Ashley was playing them false, and that the full realization of their demands was the simplest of Parliamentary tasks. To have suggested then that the Short Time Committees should have shared with him responsibility for such a "compromise," would only have invited new abuse, and delayed still further the settlement of a question crying aloud for solution.[4] Shaftesbury's letter, however, as far as it goes, is explicit:

[1] Hodder, ii. 201.
[2] *Ibid.*, 202.
[3] Hammond leans in this direction (*op. cit.*, 141).
[4] Oastler's letter to *Times*, May 6, 1850. Oastler calmly takes for granted that the workers' Committees are stronger than the Government: "Could I whisper in Lord J. Russell's ear, I would say, 'These are not times to raise such a storm; a stronger vessel than yours could not live therein.'"

GENTLEMEN,—It has become my duty to state to you, without further delay, the course I would advise you to pursue in the present position of the Factory Bill in the House of Commons.

I am bound to act as your friend, and not as your delegate; and I counsel you, therefore, to accept forthwith the proposition made by Her Majesty's Government as the only means of solving the difficulties in which we are now placed.

I wish most heartily for your sakes that they contained an unqualified limitation to 10 hours daily; but I am induced, nevertheless, for the following reasons to give you that counsel: (1) The dispute is now limited to a struggle about two hours in the week—whether the aggregate toil shall be 58 or 60 hours; the Government plan requiring two additional hours, but giving an equivalent in exchange. (2) The plan imposes a most important and beneficial limitation of the range over which the work may be taken, reducing it from 15 to 12 hours in the day, thereby preventing all possibility of shifts, relays and other evasions—a result which cannot be attained by any other form of enactment. This has always been my strong conviction, and I carried the question by the separate divisions in 1844.[1] (3) It secures to the working people, for recreation and domestic duty, the whole of every evening after six o'clock. (4) It provides for a later commencement of work by half an hour in the morning. (5) It ensures additional leisure time on every Saturday.[2] (6) Because this arrangement would secure, I believe, the co-operation of the employers—a matter of no slight importance in the good working of any measure, and essential to the harmony and good feeling we all desire to see in the vast districts of our manufactures.[3]

But there are other reasons, drawn from the embarrassments of our present position. I have already described to you in a former letter the necessity I have been under (after making many essays and taking many learned opinions) of introducing a clause to prohibit relays which contains new matter and imposes fresh restrictions. This unavoidable step on my part sets at liberty many members who considered themselves engaged to maintain the honour of Parliament, and thus endangers the success of the measure ultimately, and certainly the progress of it in the present session. Its progress, even

[1] Ashley's 1844 Amendment, carried in the Commons and ultimately defeated by Peel's threat, stipulated that the hours for young persons should be between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.

[2] Shaftesbury was an ardent advocate of the Saturday half-holiday. In and out of season he laboured for it as a boon to the workers, and his speeches show that his appeal was invariably religious. Sunday to him was a day set apart for *spiritual* development; but the body, in which the spirit dwells, he argued, is also sacred; th refore part of the working week should be set aside for recreation and *physical* development.

[3] Long experience had shown Ashley what manufacturers could do to thwart Factory Laws if they were so determined; and inspectors were familiar with the same truth. Indeed, in spite of all Shaftesbury's efforts, certain manufacturers later formed what they called "The National Association of Factory Occupiers." Dickens named this society "The Association for the Mangling of Factory Operatives" (Hammond, 150; various articles by Dickens in *Household Words*, 1855).

were the Bill unopposed, would be difficult under the heavy pressure of public business; but, opposed, as it would be, postponement would be inevitable. Now, I greatly fear delay; I refrain from stating my reasons; but I repeat, I greatly fear delay, as likely to be productive of infinite mischief, and which may possibly completely alter your relative and actual position.

I have tried to discover the bright side of postponement, but I cannot conceive any advantage in it whatever. You will stand no better in the next session than you do in this: you may possibly stand worse.

The two hours are, I know, your unquestionable right; but on the other hand, the range of 15 hours is the unquestionable right of the employers: the exchange they offer is fair, and the gain is on your side.

In giving this counsel, I know that I shall be exposed to sad misrepresentations; but it is my duty not to do that which will secure applause to myself, but that which will secure protection to your families and children. I should be overjoyed to obtain for you the full concession of the two hours in the week, but such an issue seems to my mind next to impossible; and in the protracted struggle to reach the 10, you may incur the hazard of being brought to 11 hours. Postponement must follow conflict; division among the operatives will follow postponement; and when once you are a divided body your cause will be irretrievably lost.

It will be necessary to insert the word "children" into the clause introduced by Sir George Grey, in order that the youngest workers may be sure to enjoy the benefit of the close of the daily labour at six o'clock.

With this view I shall accept the amendment proposed by the Minister, in the humble but assured hope that the issue will be blessed to the moral and social amelioration of your great community.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your very faithful friend and servant,

May 7th. ASHLEY.

The Short Time Committees of Lancashire and Yorkshire.[1]

This letter emphasizes Ashley's fear of postponement, though it refrains from stating reasons. His Diary, however, comes to our aid. An entry, penned the same day as this letter appeared in *The Times*, shows the subtle nature of his apprehensions;

[1] *Times*, May 9, 1850; *Manchester Guardian*, May 11th; *Halifax Guardian*, May 11th. The day before Shaftesbury wrote this letter, a meeting of operatives was held in Manchester, protesting against the Government proposition. Placards announcing the meeting read, in part, thus: "The Government, whose duty it is to protect the weak, when oppressed by the strong, have declared their intention of battling on the side of wealth and avarice, and of propping up its evil dominion over justice and humanity" (*Manchester Guardian*, May 8th). Such language, at this juncture, must have grieved Shaftesbury.

and incidentally it proves that Shaftesbury was no mean student of Parliamentary psychology: "Two considerations have greatly determined me to take the resolute course of accepting the Government's proposals. First, I felt most distrustful of the disposition of the House to support me in the full demand for the 'ten hours.' The majority that in 1847 gave victory to the old supporters of the Bill, were governed not by love of the cause, but by anger towards Peel and the anti-Corn Law League. Had not these passions interposed, there would have been no unusual 'humanity.' Our position in this respect is now altered. Secondly, it is manifest that neither party (the employers or the men) is striving for what is considered to be really essential. The two additional hours could give nothing of value to the amount of production; the two hours spread over the week,[1] could take nothing of importance from the operatives, the rule being constant and rigid that the mills should be closed at six o'clock every day. They are struggling merely for victory: no side chooses to be beaten. This may be natural, but I could not consent to be the tool. Doubtless it is a blow at my reputation because many will misunderstand, while many will misrepresent my position and conduct."[2]

Shaftesbury's prediction was more than fulfilled; for *misunderstanding* and *misrepresentation* are terms too mild to explain the nature of the uproar that followed.

[1] Hammond persistently refers to this two hours as an additional half-hour per day. But considering the guaranteed closing at 2 p.m. Saturdays, it was, on the average, an addition of only twenty minutes per day.

[2] Hodder, ii. 202. A speech by Blake, Secretary of the Central Ten Hours Committee, before a delegate meeting in Bradford, convened to support Lord John Manners, throws light on the difficulties Ashley faced. Blake had recently returned from London, where he had been lobbying, and his experience there had convinced him that Ashley took the only possible course for the workers' good (*Halifax Guardian*, May 28, 1850). It is important also to remember that *all the operatives' delegates to London had come to this same conclusion.* Even as uncompromising a paper as the *Halifax Guardian* was compelled to admit that "*the whole of the delegates* who had been to London declared themselves in favour of the Government plan" (May 18th).

CHAPTER XVI

DIVISION AMONG FRIENDS

ASHLEY'S decision was no sooner proclaimed to the Short Time Committee, than a host of opponents denounced him as a Judas. Oastler and Stephens were immediately on the war-path, and the bitterness of their invective knew no bounds. For each new occasion they coined new epithets. Indeed, it now seemed the style among popular agitators to measure their devotion to the cause, by ability to outdo one another in pouring the fires of condemnation on their old leader and friend. Sam Fielden and his brothers, moreover, together with Cobbett and Walker, were no less heated; the only thing keeping them from the vanguard of the fray, being their inability to cope with the aforementioned gentlemen in coining vituperative diction; while, as for the new Committee for Protection of the Ten Hours Act, it seemed, for a time, as though it had forgotten all about the Ten Hours cause, and had concentrated on proving to the workers that the pious lordling in whom they had put their trust, was a weakling and a traitor.[1]

Protesting meetings followed one another in rapid succession, throughout industrial districts; and, at nearly all, abusive language passed without restraint. In one Manchester meeting it was announced by Thomas Fielden,[2] from the chair, that the gathering had been convened "to counteract the effect of Ashley's treachery"; and after a feast of provocative language, to which Oastler and Sam Fielden were chief contributors, a resolution was unanimously passed censuring Ashley for "not only deserting the cause which he voluntarily pledged himself to support, but that in the manner best calculated to weaken its friends and to

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, contrariwise, wrote a complimentary leading article on Shaftesbury's decision, and referred readers "with great pleasure" to his letter, printed in the same issue (May 11, 1850). See conclusion of previous chapter.

[2] Brother of John Fielden.

strengthen the hands of its enemies." [1] As for the Government's "criminal" Bill, workers were advised to kick it out with the contempt it deserved. Sam Fielden described the measure as a "complete piece of humbug" and advised operatives next to raise their standard for an *eight* hours day; while both Oastler and Stephens declared that, if the Government should succeed in robbing the operatives they would immediately start an agitation not for ten hours' labour exclusive of meal-time, but for ten hours *including* meal-time. Finally, coming to the guarantee for two o'clock closing on Saturdays, this meeting passed a resolution, viewing the proposition with "sadness and contempt," as a mere sop offered by thieves to those whom they had robbed.[2]

At another, and previous, meeting in Manchester "a long string of resolutions strongly deprecatory of Lord Ashley's conduct was passed." Resolution 10 in this "string" reads: "That the heartfelt thanks of this meeting are due to Lord John Manners for the generous manner in which he has come forward to aid us in the moment, *when the base and deliberate treachery of our pretended friends seemed to have assured our defeat.*" [3] Again, the Lancashire Central Committee for Protection of the Ten Hours Act passed a resolution deploring "the infatuation which led to the cause of the factory workers being entrusted to Lord Ashley." Editorial comment in certain papers was equally bitter. The *Halifax Guardian*, in a leading article, "The Factory Bill and Lord Ashley," wrote: "Sincerely do we regret that he who on this occasion pledged that he would 'die in the last ditch' should have selected that position for a betrayal of the cause to which, after many misgivings, he was again constituted the leader." Then, generalizing on the "compromise," it proceeded: "Better the continuance of a legal flaw than the legislative enactment of a deliberate injustice. Better let robbers go unpunished, than pass a law to give them a title to a part of their ill-gotten gains." [4]

On the other hand, the *Manchester Guardian*, May 11th, in

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, May 29th; *Halifax Guardian*, June 1, 1850. The report of this meeting in *Manchester Guardian* significantly notes: "that of the numerous scions of the aristocracy, and members of Parliament, named in the placard as having been invited to attend, *not one was present*" (italics inserted). Needless to say, *Halifax Guardian* made no mention of this fact.

[2] *Manchester Guardian*, May 29th; *Halifax Guardian*, June 1st.

[3] *Halifax Guardian*, May 18, 1850.

[4] Issue for May 18, 1850.

a leading article on the proposed settlement, referred to it as having "secured the approbation of every sincere and disinterested advocate of the working-classes," and declared it "satisfactory to all moderate and reasonable men, personally interested in the duration of factory labour." Such was the *official* attitude of the *Manchester Guardian*; but not a few manufacturers who read that paper held a different view: for at the moment when Ashley was being stigmatized as a betrayer of the workers' cause, certain masters of industry were complaining loudly that the proposed settlement was a complete "compromise" of the *mill-owners'* rights. One "mill-owner," wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* saying, he was "deeply grieved and not a little surprised," to find that paper supporting the proposed measure as "satisfactory to mill-owners." Moreover, protesting against what he considered a miserable compromise of masters' rights, this gentleman proceeded: "In order to obtain this paltry and worthless concession, they (the mill-owners) must abandon their principles . . . to contest insignificant details. They must identify themselves with principles against which they have always protested, and adopt as 'satisfactory' measures which they have stigmatized as destructive." [1]

It is obvious, therefore, that all conciliators now had bricks hurled at their heads from both sides of the road.

Under relentless attack, it was only to be expected that Ashley would be deposed from the position he had long held as national leader of the textile workers; and that deposition was quickly brought about. Urged on by the fury of popular agitators, and by the excitement of the moment, one Short Time Committee followed another in disowning him, and pledging faith in Lord John Manners, who had promised to introduce an Amendment, fixing the hour of closing at 5.30 instead of 6 p.m. Any sane survey of the political situation at this moment, might have predicted failure for such an amendment; but, in the heat of the moment, a sane survey was not made, and, as Manners's proposal sounded inviting, he was acclaimed Parliamentary leader.[2]

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, May 22, 1850.

[2] Another incident is, in this connection, instructive. G. J. Holyoake, in his *Life of Rev. J. R. Stephens* (191–2), quotes a petition "To Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen," purporting to represent the operatives' mind. This petition made a veiled but unmistakable attack on Ashley, trying to prejudice his Sovereign's mind against him as a "tormenter" and trickster. The latter part of the petition reads: "The Act of 1847 is perfect. Why

Under such circumstances it came about that after seventeen years [1] of sacrificial service, Shaftesbury was cast off by the workers with little gratitude and much abuse. Indeed, amidst all this vituperation, we look in vain for more than one or two votes of thanks for past help.[2] Operatives' organizations were led to believe that Ashley had jeopardized their cause, and, in their anger, every remembrance of long service seemed dormant.[3] All this humiliation, however, the veteran bore in silence. That he was deeply hurt is certain; but having a clear conscience he felt "thrice armed," and believed he could await the verdict of time. On one occasion, however, he was forced to a reply. Mr. H. Edwards, in Parliament, having used language against him not dissimilar to that of Oastler and the Fieldens, he briefly answered the charge; adding that "never again" would he "touch upon the subject": "He (Mr. Edwards) says the factory operatives are now deserted by one who was once their champion. Now I never considered myself as their champion, but *I did consider myself as their friend*, and I declare before God that I have done that which appeared to me to be best for their interests; and every successive hour, and all the intelligence I receive, convinces me that, by God's blessing, I have been enabled to judge aright. I may be permitted to state, solemnly, and before this august assembly, that I have sacrificed to them almost everything that a public man holds dear, and

should it be repealed? That of 1844 is imperfect, and requires amendment; but it is asserted no English words can be found to secure us the benefit intended—release from the oppressive shift system. We do not believe that there is such paucity of words in our native tongue. By a *quibble* we have been deprived of the intended protection of the Act of 1844—by a *trick* it is now intended to deprive us of the Ten Hours Act of 1847. The two Houses being composed of many *men*, have no regard for *individual* responsibility. . . . They have rewarded the guilty at the expense of the innocent, whom they have punished.

"Your Majesty's humble and grateful
Petitioners will ever pray," etc.

[1] Ashley assumed leadership of the cause in Feb. 1833.

[2] Glasgow affords one of the happy exceptions. Workers' delegates, there assembled, passed this resolution: "While we cannot approve any abridgment of our present legal rights, . . . we are at the same time too fully satisfied of the honesty, zeal and self-devotion of Lord Ashley to imagine for one moment that his Lordship has deserted the interests of those whose welfare he has had so long at heart, and whose well-being he has so perseveringly promoted—and are convinced that his concurrence with the Government proposition is best calculated to insure the present safety of the Bill, and its future permanency" (H. of C., June 6, 1850, 833).

[3] Sam Fielden now talked much about "my Father's Bill" and "my Father's efforts," as though Ashley had little to do with any past gains; and his brother-in-law, J. M. Cobbett, followed suit.

now I have concluded by giving them that which I prize most of all—I have even sacrificed to them my reputation." [1] A Diary comment is also suggestive. On Christmas day, 1851, Shaftesbury made an " impartial review " of his public endeavours, and referring to factory operatives, he notes : " They forgot all my labour of love in the middle course I took for their welfare. I won for them *almost* everything ; but for the loss of that very little, they regard me as an enemy." [2]

The tragedy, however, of all this wrangling expressed itself in still more lamentable fashion than personal attacks on an old comrade. In Ashley's letter to the workers, May 7th, he pointed out that it would be necessary " to insert the word ' children ' into the clause introduced by Sir George Grey," in order to make certain of abolishing relays. And there can be little doubt that Grey had given tacit, if not positive, assurance that such inclusion would meet with his support ; [3] because the limitation of hours from 6 to 6 was designed specifically for putting an end to all relay labour. But the querulous attitude of the Committee for Protection of the Ten Hours Act had so weakened Ashley's hands that the " vacillating " Home Secretary, thinking the workers too divided to offer effective resistance, stoutly opposed the inclusion of children within the provisions of his Bill. His reasons were subtle, and indicate a relationship to the breach in the workers' camp ; for the argument raised by Grey, and his supporters, including Gladstone and the Prime Minister, was that children already enjoyed a six-and-a-half-hour day (or ten hours on alternate days), and that therefore the real purpose of the proposed inclusion was indirectly to compel Parliament to protect adult men. Bright, for instance, declared : " The promoters of the noble Lord, as well as the noble Lord himself, might endeavour to conceal their real object, but . . .

[1] H. of C., June 6, 1850 ; *Manchester Guardian*, June 8th.

[2] Hodder, ii. 357. Late in life, Shaftesbury reviewed this struggle, and referring to the " compromise " said : " I assented on the ground that twenty years of well-balanced conflict showed that neither party could gain its full purpose ; and that compromise was the only solution. And the gain to the people was far beyond the concession to the employers, who, for an additional half-hour, surrendered their right to take the hours of labour over an interval of fifteen hours with all the means of evasion, and agreed to close their works at six o'clock. This was recognized at the first by very many of the operatives, and eventually by all. . . . All this had the desired effect ; for the masters, instead of a sulky opposition, were zealous to aid the operations of the measure ; hence, under God, its success " (Hodder, ii. 208).

[3] See Grant's statement to delegates, May 12th (*Times*, May 14th, H. of C., June 6th).

their object was not sympathy with the children employed, but a wish to stop the labour of adults engaged." [1]

This argument contained a half-truth: workers certainly did desire to limit the labour of adult males; but as long as Ashley enjoyed united support, the fairness of their procedure was taken for granted, and was almost unquestioned. Now, in the hour of discord, their tactics were pictured as a conspiracy of adult male operatives to use children as a smoke-screen for their defence; [2] and indeed, if the whole story is told, it must frankly be admitted that there was some truth in this accusation, for at mass meetings, dominated exclusively by adult males, many speakers harangued so openly about *their own rights*, and *their own hours of labour*, that not a few Parliamentarians concluded that women and children were being used as window-dressing to further the interests of full-grown men.[3] Then, too, George Bankes, supporting Ashley in Parliament, had made the strategic blunder of emphasizing the workers' desire for legislation on behalf of adult males. Such a mistake, needless to say, incensed opposition; whereas, proceeding as Shaftesbury had always done, this protection was being procured indirectly, through regulation of motive power.

Twice Shaftesbury put forth every effort to amend Grey's Bill, so as to include *children* within the 6 to 6 range, and, on his second attempt, he was defeated by only one vote, the count being 160 to 159. Three years afterwards, however, 1853, when Ashley had succeeded to the Lords, his father-in-law,[4] Palmerston, whose adverse vote had now turned the balance against the children's cause, passed the desired Amendment, and children were included in the 6 to 6 range. Consequently, the workers' rejection of Ashley postponed by three years, complete abandonment of shifts and relays. If the operatives' champion had been loyally supported by the Short Time Committees, there is not the slightest doubt that his Amendment would have carried with ease; for it was defeated by only one vote: and Palmerston, who afterwards carried it, now voted in opposition.[5]

[1] Hansard, June 6, 1850, 849.

[2] *Ibid.*, June 6 and 14, 1850, 846 f., 1234 f.

[3] A study of inspectors' reports reveals the element of truth behind this argument. Shaftesbury once spoke of fathers who would sell their own children for a keg of gin; and the phenomenon of parents living on their children's labour was not unknown.

[4] Palmerston married Ashley's mother-in-law.

[5] For Division of House, Hansard, June 14, 1850, 1240.

In the meantime, however, the price of dissension was dearly paid, for inspectors' reports show that during this three-year interval not a few mills worked children by shifts between 5.30 a.m. and 8.30 p.m.[1] in attendance upon adult males.[2]

Before the 1850 Act was finally carried, two other amendments were offered; but neither had any chance of success. One was a motion, seconded by Bright, to *legalize* relays, and "fix the factory day from half-past 5 a.m. to half-past 8 p.m."[3] The other was Manners's proposal to close the factories at 5.30 instead of 6 p.m.[4] Both motions were easily defeated; but they illustrate the range of sentiment with which factory legislators had to reckon, and with which Shaftesbury was thoroughly familiar. Grey's Bill, consequently, was carried without amendment.

As to the value of this 1850 Act, there can be no doubt. Brotherton expressed his belief that it "would confer more benefit on the working classes than any law which had ever received the sanction of the Legislature."[5] Such was the expectation of a benevolent manufacturer, who once was a factory lad, and who, by long service, had proven himself a friend of the workers. And Brotherton's high hopes were not without justification, for Ernest von Plener, in his admirable little book, *English Factory Legislation*, points out that this enactment first established a *normal working day*; and "by its clear and distinct provisions put a speedy and lasting end to the uncertainties and agitation that existed in the manufacturing districts, and met with less resistance and ill-will than had been expected."[6] Again, Hutchins and Harrison say: "The Act of 1850 was an important turning-point in the history of English factory legislation. By it a normal working day was for the first time expressly established, or, in other words, the legal working day was made to coincide with the legal period of employment,

[1] The prolongation of children's labour between these hours does not necessarily mean that any child worked more than the six and a half hours permitted by law.

[2] *Parl. Papers* (1850), xlii. 477.

[3] Hodder, ii. 201: Speeches of Elliot and Bright, June 6, 1850, H. of C.

[4] Manners's speech, introducing this Amendment, was not lacking in party flavour; while also it contained a mild stimulus to his Protectionist friends to support his measure, and thus get even with Free Traders, who represented chiefly the manufacturing interests.

[5] Hansard, June 6, 1850, 841.

[6] See 40–4. Dr. Weinmann dedicated his English translation of this book to Shaftesbury—"to whose untiring efforts and powerful advocacy on the Platform and in the Senate, millions of toilers in the factories of Great Britain are indebted for those wise and beneficent laws which have been instrumental in protecting Infant life, securing the education of young persons and children, and promoting their material and moral well-being."

allowance being made for meal-times." [1] Then, too, the clause compelling two o'clock closing on Saturdays was a tremendous boon, giving impetus to all kinds of open-air sport. Indeed, this Act marks the first advance movement toward Britain's much-coveted Saturday Half-Holiday.

Such benefits as these, however, were too modest to call forth any appreciation from Oastler and the die-hard wing. To the Fieldens, Stephens, Walker and Cobbett [2] the whole settlement was a " treacherous betrayal " for which Ashley was responsible ; and, as for the defeat of his Amendment, protecting *children* from shifts, it never struck their minds that they, and not he, were responsible. All they could see behind this loss was a demonstration of their conviction that Ashley was incompetent for his task, and should have sat at their feet for instruction. The wild extremes to which this sentiment ran are reflected by the procedure of a delegates' meeting, convened in Halifax on Sunday, July 28th, shortly after the 1850 Act had received the sanction of both Houses. The meeting claimed to represent " various towns in the West Riding " ; and the vituperation of its first resolution, *unanimously* carried, leaves strong suspicion that it emanated from Oastler : while also it suggests that the late Mrs. Oastler's fears, lest in her husband's fervour he should be carried away by those who " were not God-fearing men," had indeed come true.[3] This resolution reads : " That in the opinion of this meeting, Lord Ashley has basely and treacherously betrayed the interests of the factory children. After breaking faith with the factory operatives, we have no more confidence in my Lord Ashley, Philip Grant,[4] or any of their tools who have acted with them, remembering the promise which my Lord Ashley has always held out to the operatives employed in factories —' That he would die in the last ditch.' That we, the delegates, take this opportunity of expressing *our utmost contempt and indignation to his Lordship, for the scandalous, abominable and disgraceful manner he has manifested in having betrayed the factory cause*. And we also take this opportunity of ringing this as the last death knell betwixt Ashley, his colleagues and the factory operatives, and bid them an everlasting adieu." [5]

[1] Op. cit., chapter on " Introduction of Normal Working Day," 96 ff.
[2] Grant, 145.
[3] " Alfred," *History of the Factory Movement*, ii. 229.
[4] Grant had now rendered over twenty years' service to the fight ; as editor of *Ten Hours Advocate* his help had been great.
[5] *Halifax Guardian*, Aug. 3, 1850.

Strange language this, against a man who had sacrificed every ambition on the altars of industrial reform! But it is doubly strange when we remember that the representatives of these very delegates, sent up to London to lobby in their behalf, had come to the same conclusions as Ashley, "the betrayer." "The whole of the delegates who had been sent to London declared themselves in favour of the Government plan"; [1] and some stated that if concessions had not been made, the entire cause would have been jeopardized. Then, too, such old friends of the operatives as Wood,[2] Brotherton, Hindley and the editor of *Ten Hours Advocate* all shared Shaftesbury's conviction that wisdom demanded acceptance of the Government offer.

However, although the invective of the Fieldens, Walker and Cobbett,[3] added to that of Oastler and Stephens, goaded many operatives to fury, it is pleasing to note that this passion was a passing mood: for as the workmen "came to themselves" they realized they had been stoning their prophets, and when once conscious of this fact, they showed themselves wiser than the generality of mankind; for they waited not till the death of the benefactors they had maligned, to raise monuments to their memory. In January 1851, less than six months after the Halifax meeting, where he had been so vehemently attacked, Grant was presented by the workers with an address and a purse of money, together with a gold watch bearing this inscription: "Presented to Mr. P. Grant, by the factory operatives of England, and other friends of factory legislation, as a token of esteem for his persevering advocacy of a Ten Hours Bill during a period of 21 years." Again, in 1859, at a huge demonstration in Free Trade Hall, Manchester, factory workers presented the Countess of Shaftesbury with a colossal bust of her husband. This stately statue, which Shaftesbury prized above all other expressions of esteem, was the work of Noble, and on its pedestal were engraved

[1] *Halifax Guardian*, May 18, 1850.

[2] It was Wood who converted Oastler to the workers' cause.

[3] The position of J. M. Cobbett (son of William) was peculiarly inconsistent and ungenerous. He was one of the five lawyers who drew up the "very powerful and sufficient clause" to prevent relays; yet, after Shaftesbury had accepted this clause and presented it to the House as his *third* attempt to remedy the relay evil, Cobbett veered around and declared it ineffective. Nevertheless, although he thus admitted the impossibility of Shaftesbury's position without Government co-operation, he joined with his brother-in-law, Sam Fielden, in denouncing Ashley as a traitor for accepting the Government's offer. Moreover, it was during Cobbett's leadership of the workmen's cause that the National Association of Factory Occupiers succeeded in passing heir reactionary Bill (1856).

these words: "Presented to Emily, wife of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, by the operatives of the manufacturing districts of the North of England, as a token of esteem and regard for the persevering and successful efforts of her noble husband in promoting by legislative enactment a limitation of the hours of labour of children, females and young persons employed in mills and factories. August 6th, 1859." [1]

Then, too, it is pleasing to find not only that factory operatives were again reconciled to an abiding devotion for Shaftesbury, but also that the names of Shaftesbury and Oastler came to be linked together as the outstanding leaders of the long-protracted struggle to emancipate textile workers from the tyranny of factory steel: for these two men, with so much in contrast, who frequently irritated and sometimes exasperated one another—they above all their contemporaries, at tremendous sacrifice, dared at all times and on all occasions, each in his own way, to assert the Christian principle that machines were made for men, not men for machines; that capital should be the servant of society, not society the bond-slave of capital. On May 15 1869, an Oastler statue was unveiled in Bradford, and Shaftesbury was chosen to perform the honours of the day. He recalled the heroic work of his old colleague, and all remembrance of past bitterness was hushed. Eight years previously "The Children's King" had passed to his rest, and Shaftesbury now remembered him only as the workers' friend, who endured poverty and imprisonment for the cause to which he devoted the best portion of his life—"the common people's good."

The ovation Shaftesbury received on this occasion was ample demonstration of the workers' love. A multitude assembled to pay him homage; and his Diary states that "their enthusiasm knew no bounds." [2] Another memorandum he has left, reads: "May 15th, 1869,—a great celebration at Bradford to uncover Oastler's statue. The reception the operatives gave me was wonderful. There must have been one hundred thousand people present; many had come from distant towns in Yorkshire." [3] Not a few of them "kissed his hand."

It would be misleading to think of Shaftesbury and Oastler only in the friction-laden atmosphere of 1850. The lives of the two men certainly exhibited marked contrasts; in temperament

[1] Philip Grant, *Ten Hopes Bill*, 146.
[2] Hodder, iii. 249.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 211.

and bearing they were diametrical opposites; but in the most inspiring and sustaining of life's forces they were brothers, for their spiritual initiative was rooted in common soil. Each received his dynamic from the Evangelical Movement, and each retained till the end a religious conception of his aims. As a boy, Shaftesbury's soul had been kindled to religious fire by the influence of his nurse, Maria Millis, and never once was that fire extinguished; for, in the light and warmth of its glow, he achieved his life work. Oastler's inspiration was not dissimilar. He was the son of a local preacher who had been "disinherited by his father for his Methodism."[1] Indeed, the Oastler house was always open to Evangelical leaders; and on Wesley's last visit there, he took the child Richard in his arms and blessed him.[2] Obviously, then, Richard Oastler was raised in an exceptional environment, and it was no accident that, as a young man, he took an enthusiastic part in the campaign against West Indian slavery. Indeed, Samuel Kydd maintains that "he was a kind of hereditary supporter of benevolence, because he inherited it from his father."[3] Some critics would disagree with any such conclusions; but this much is certain, that Oastler's life work was begun and carried forward under impelling religious conviction.

Oastler himself, in 1851, narrated the circumstances leading him to champion the factory child. In 1830 he paid a visit to the home of his friend, John Wood; and after an evening's discussion of factory problems, in the course of which Wood compared the status of children in English mills, including his own, with that of West Indian slaves, both gentlemen retired to rest in pensive mood.[4] Oastler's business, however, compelled him to rise at four o'clock and leave early; but, before departing, he was called into his host's bedroom; and of what there transpired we have a graphic account in Oastler's own words: "My friend was in bed, but he was not asleep; he was leaning upon a table beside his bed. On that table were placed two candles, between them was the open Bible. On my advancing toward the side of his bed, he turned toward me, reached out his hand, and, in the most impressive and affectionate manner,

[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, "Richard Oastler." [2] *Ibid.*

[3] "Alfred," *History of Factory System*, i. 94.

[4] Wood's Mills, even in 1830, were better than most, for he allowed longer time for meals. Moreover, Wood became financial mainstay of the Ten Hours agitation.

pressing my hand in his, he said, 'I have had no sleep to-night. I have been reading this Book, and in every page I have read my own condemnation. I cannot allow you to leave me without a pledge, that you will use all your influence in endeavouring to remove, from our factory system, the cruelties which are regularly practised in our mills.' . . . I promised my friend that I would do what I could. I felt that we were, each of us, in the presence of the Highest. I knew that that vow was recorded in Heaven. I have kept it, the grace of God having upholden me; I have been faithful. Trusting in the same Power, old and feeble as I am, I hope to be faithful even unto death." [1]

Yes, in religious zeal, Shaftesbury and Oastler were on common ground, and it is probable that if Mrs. Oastler had lived a few years longer, the disruption of 1850 would never have occurred. Stephens, the fiery Methodist minister, always considered himself as a lieutenant under Oastler's command—he "had sworn allegiance to the Children's King"; [2] and it is no exaggeration to say that the movement of these popular agitators toward "the left," under the influence of Sam Fielden and J. M. Cobbett, led to the tragedy of 1850.[3] Without support from Oastler and Stephens, the "Committee for Protection of the Ten Hours Act" might never have been formed; for Fielden and Cobbett could have accomplished little without their aid; yet, were it not for this hostile Committee, Shaftesbury, we believe, would have remained official leader, and unity would have continued unbroken, even in the hour when concession was essential to success. Speculation, however, is dangerous. One fact is certain: both Oastler and Stephens, like Shaftesbury, made tremendous

[1] "Alfred," i. 97.

[2] Rev. J. R. Stephens, a romantic character, was the son of John Stephens, a Methodist preacher, a brother of George Stephens, the archæologist, and of John Stephens, editor of *Christian Advocate*. He was popularly known as a "Tory Radical," whose oratorical gifts were altogether unusual. Describing his eighteen months' imprisonment, for agitation in behalf of the workers' cause, he says: "To a man who has slept soundly with a sod for a bed, and a portmanteau for his pillow, within a stone's throw of the North Cape, and who has made himself quite at home among Laplanders and Russians, there is nothing so very, very frightful in a moderately good gaol, as gaols now go." His brother George describes him as "the tribune of the poor"; while his nephew, J. Stephens Storr, in an introduction to Holyoake's *Life of Joseph Rayner Stephens*, says he was "a political priest, a soldier servant of Christ, fighting under the banner of the Cross" (p. 10). Holyoake's book contains a remarkable portrait of Stephens, a man of commanding appearance.

[3] Both Sam Fielden and J. M. Cobbett were then capitalizing the influence of their fathers' names; but this source of power soon became bankrupt. No reference is made to either in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

sacrifices for the workers, and, in spite of their impetuosity, rendered mighty service to the Ten Hours cause.[1]

Looking back over the four great factory Acts passed during Shaftesbury's leadership, it is remarkable that none of them was drawn up or carried by Shaftesbury himself. Nevertheless, he was the moving spirit behind them all. Althorp's Act (1833) incorporated part of Ashley's demands to silence his agitation and steal wind from his sails. The Act of 1844 was not dissimilar in origin. In that year, in spite of vehement opposition from the Prime Minister, Ashley twice carried the Commons' vote for a strongly worded Ten Hours Bill. But threats of resignation from Peel and the Home Secretary so intimidated agricultural representatives that they meekly retracted support and rescinded their verdict. Consequently the 1844 Act, as passed by Graham, was offered as a conscience-sop for the comprehensive provisions which Shaftesbury had carried in the Commons. As for the famous Act of 1847, passed after Peel's downfall, it was almost accidental that Ashley was denied the joy of carrying this measure to victory; for his resignation from the House was wholly a matter of conscience. Again, the 1850 Act, establishing the "normal day," was drawn up and carried, not by Ashley but Grey; yet it is common knowledge that this measure conformed more nearly to Ashley's demands than to those of its author.

Therefore, although Shaftesbury drew up none of these Acts, he was, in a real sense, father of them all. In fact the seventeen years, marking his leadership of the Ten Hours cause, are the most prolific period in the history of factory legislation; for during that time the principles were established upon which all later developments were based. Even a glance at the achievements of this period, illustrates something of its progress: (1) All

[1] For some idea of the influence exercised by the Evangelical Movement (of which Shaftesbury, Sadler, Oastler, Stephens, Wood and Bull were all followers), in the sphere of social reform, and in laying the foundations of representative government, see Élie Halévy, *History of English People in 1815*, 335–400 (Eng. trans.). On p. 339 Halévy says: "We shall witness Methodism bring under its influence, first the dissenting sects, then the establishment, finally secular opinion. . . . We shall explain by this movement the extraordinary stability which English Society was destined to enjoy throughout a period of revolutions and crises; what we may truly term the miracle of modern England, anarchist but orderly, practical and business-like, but religious and even pietist." The influence of this Revival was as essential to factory reform as to the abolition of slavery, to the spread of popular education, or to the formation of the great Missionary Societies of the English-speaking world.

children under their ninth year were excluded from employment in textile mills. (2) The labour of youngsters under thirteen was restricted to six-and-a-half hours per day.[1] (3) Education came to be recognized as the universal right of the factory child, and a degree of compulsory provision was arranged for its maintenance. (4) The employment of young persons (those under 18) was limited to 60 hours a week, and all night work for such persons became illegal. (5) Women of any age came to enjoy all the protection of young persons. (6) A highly efficient system of factory inspection was established, and inspectors became real guardians of the workers' rights. (7) Saturday afternoon, from two o'clock, became a fixed and invariable holiday for textile workers. (8) As a result of legislation for children, young persons, and women, a limitation was placed on motive power; and adult men became indirect recipients of benefits guaranteed to women and young persons. Indeed, the more closely we survey the achievements of these years, the more we are forced to conclude that they constitute the most epoch-making period in the annals of factory legislation.

Referring, in 1861, to the "legal interference" of the years in question, the President of the Economic Section of the British Association said that this intervention has "strengthened and consolidated the social fabric . . . has cleared away a mass of depravity and discontent, has placed the manufacturing enterprise of the country on a safe basis, and has conferred upon us resources against the effects of foreign competition, which can scarcely be over-valued."[2] The truth of this statement may be gauged from the fact that most of Shaftesbury's foes came, in time, to recant their early opposition, and to acknowledge frankly that the laws which they so vehemently opposed had proven a great national blessing. Among famous opponents who registered open and generous recantation were Gladstone, Roebuck and Graham; among those who quietly pulled down their sails and steered their bark towards Shaftesbury's course were Cobden and Brougham.[3]

But, passing from the Ten Hours Act to other spheres of industrial legislation, there too Shaftesbury played a leading rôle.

[1] A child might work seven hours if his labour was completed by 1 p.m., or ten hours on *alternate* days, with intervening days free from all labour. From an educational point of view, some factory inspectors favoured ten hours' toil on alternate days, thus leaving three full days a week for schooling.

[2] Hutchins and Harrison, 122.

[3] Hodder, ii. 204 ff.; *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 47; Hammond, 151 f.

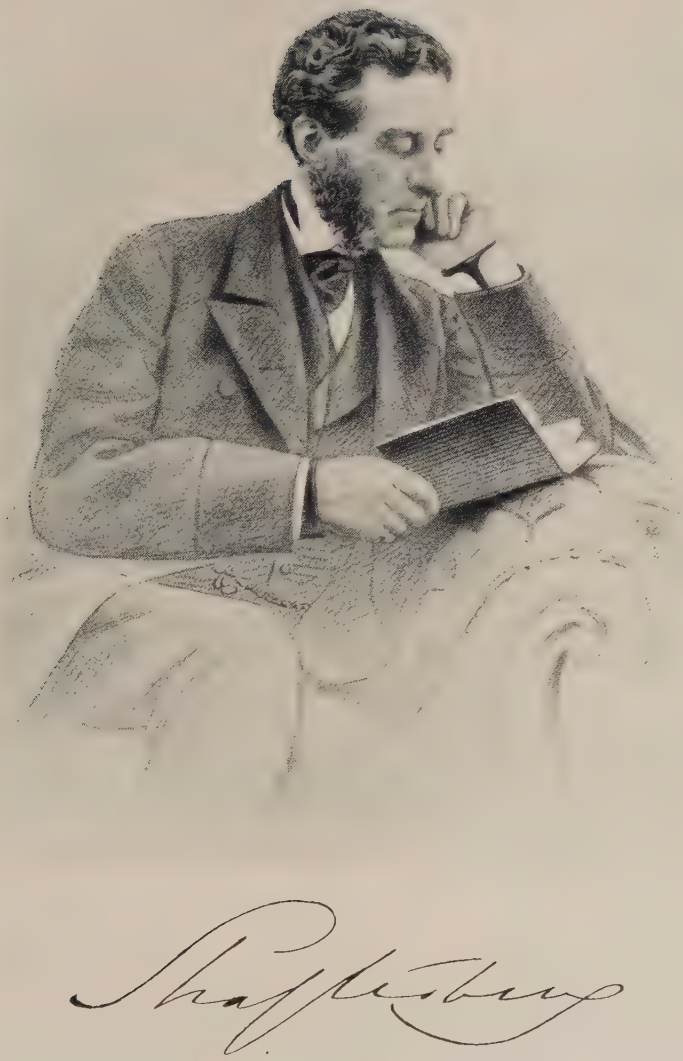
The famous Royal Commissions appointed in 1840 and 1862, which inquired into the employment of children and young persons, in industries not protected by factory laws, were both instigated by Shaftesbury; and both had tremendous influence. The former was precursor of the Mines and Collieries Act (1842); the latter gave birth to the two famous Statutes for the Extension of Factory Acts, 1864 and 1867.[1]

Rousing lethargic Governments to the appointment of Industrial Commissions was not, however, the only corollary to Shaftesbury's long fight as factory reformer. In addition to the Ten Hours victory and the Mines and Collieries Act, five other monuments of industrial achievement stand to his credit. Single-handed he passed the Print Works Act of 1845; in 1867, he won a victory, which revolutionized the treatment of farm labourers and emancipated women and children from the "tyranny of Agricultural Gangs"; in 1871, co-operating with Smith and Mundella, he freed an army of children and young persons from a condition of practical slavery in brick-fields. Again, in 1875, after long-continued and disappointing attempts, he succeeded in redeeming "climbing boys" from the unutterable misery of a forced lot; while as late as 1879, through sheer perseverance, after many rebuffs, he secured a Factory Act for India, where disregard of Sunday, or any fixed day of rest, had made industrial conditions even more intolerable than ever they had been in Britain.[2] But a survey of these achievements will engage our attention further on.

On one occasion, in Parliament, presenting claims for industrial legislation, Shaftesbury was met with the query: "How can you draw a limit to this sort of legislation? Where will you stop?" His reply was immediate and courageous: "I will stop *nowhere* so long as any portion of this mighty evil remains"; and the results of more than half a century's endeavour prove that this categorical assertion was neither an idle boast nor an empty threat. For a time, in the heat of impetuosity, the workers, through misunderstanding, forsook their old champion; but never did he forsake them: and there is abundant evidence

[1] Preface to *Speeches*, vii. The 1862 Commission sat five years, and published six reports.

[2] In Shaftesbury's speech before the Lords on this subject (April 4, 1879), he said: "Creed and colour, latitude and longitude, make no difference in the essential nature of man. No climate can enable infants to do the work of adults, or turn suffering women into mere steam-engines" (Hodder, iii. 405 ff.).



AS HE APPEARED ON SUCCEEDING TO THE EARLDOM IN 1851 AT THE AGE OF 50

that, as years rolled on, his devotion was rewarded; for in later life Shaftesbury held a position altogether unique in the esteem of that vast multitude, for whom he had voluntarily sacrificed everything a public man holds dear. Wealth, party-affiliation, repeated calls to Cabinet office or high State position, the opportunities for leisure and luxury—these, and all similar attractions, were thrown into the balance as part of the price Shaftesbury paid for his career. Nevertheless, that price he paid without flinching; and in return he accepted a life of self-sacrifice, loaded with herculean labour, and overshadowed by the spectre of poverty and debt. The cost of such devotion was great; but Shaftesbury never once deplored his choice, and finally, millions rose up to call him blessed for the boon he had bestowed. Indeed, had his only service to his fellows been expressed in his struggles for the Ten Hours Bill, he would have won, by right of that alone, a place among immortals; but, in reality, this was one of half a score of historic movements to which he contributed the full intensity of his enthusiasm.

Shaftesbury's life, in truth, was one of ecstasy—ecstasy both of sorrow and joy: sorrow because of the ills under which so many of his fellow-mortals groaned; joy in the consciousness that those ills could be cured, and that God was calling himself and others, to labour with Him, in bringing physical and spiritual health to the children of men. Britain's greatest reformer is one of those characters whose career demands a verdict. Frigid neutrality toward him, no matter how loud-spoken its assertion, is impossible, for his life was guided by a consuming purpose which he believed greater than he—a purpose challenging sympathy or revolt. And emphatic, indeed, are the judgments recorded; for his strong personality, intimately known, commands great hatred or great love, according to our measure of agreement or disagreement with the principles directing its endeavour. Certain it is, that no philosophy of chance can ever explain Shaftesbury's activities; his life was far removed from the dominion of accident or circumstance, and was based squarely on principle. By some contemporaries he was styled "saint," "hypocrite," "fanatic," "humanity-monger," "sentimentalist," "socialist," "monomaniac," even "madman"; by others, particularly humble folk, he was loved with a devotion approximating toward idolatry. Outside Westminster Abbey, on the day of the Earl's funeral, amidst the multitude who stood bare-

headed in falling rain, one working man, in voice of deep emotion, exclaimed: "Our Earl's gone! God A'mighty know'd how he loved us, and we loved him. We shan't look upon his likes again." [1] Such was the devotion of millions.

Yes, Shaftesbury's life was one of ecstasy; a certain ecstatic vehemence is mirrored in all that he touched, and reflected back in all criticisms of his career. Nothing could be sweeter, more tender, more joyous than the record of his family relationships and his affinity to all children; this aspect of his career, indeed, was one of sheer rapture, as was also his passion to brighten the life of suffering humanity. Yet, beyond doubt, in Shaftesbury's life, as in Lincoln's,[2] a deep strain of melancholy formed part of the music of his soul. But what is too frequently forgotten, is that this melancholy was part of his ecstasy: it was the midnight darkness, which is the necessary complement of noonday splendour; it was the dense shadow on a sensitive soul, marking the temporary eclipse of the brilliant light which illumined his life-course; it was the Gethsemane of a transfigured life.

NOTE.

A study of the evolution of Britain's weekly half-holiday and the statutory provisions demanding leisure time for all workers, reveals interesting facts. The great army of factory workers was first to win, not only the Ten Hours Day, but also the Saturday Half-Holiday. Shaftesbury's agitation, however, on behalf of factory "hands" encouraged "black-coated workers" to become audible. Hence, in 1842, the Early Closing Association was born; and to this movement, on behalf of bank clerks, office workers, shop assistants, etc., Shaftesbury gave full support. But prejudice was great, and progress tardy. The Factory Act of 1850 procured two o'clock closing on Saturday for all "protected" factory workers. Eight years later, when the Bank of England was asked to grant the same boon to its staff, the Governor replied that though the Bank is "at all times disposed to assist in promoting the wishes of the public, where they are generally and decidedly expressed, it is not in the habit of itself taking the initiative in such movements."

The endeavours of the Early Closing Association, nevertheless, in time bore fruit. Backed by its support, Sir John Lubbock, in 1871, won for Britain's workers their four annual Bank Holidays, and by the same stimulant public opinion was finally prepared for the passing of Mr. Winston Churchill's Shop Act of 1912, which provided a "universal, compulsory, statutory half-holiday."

The Early Closing Association, true to Shaftesbury's lead, has always contended that Sunday was a day set aside for rest and spiritual uplift, not for sport. Hence the weekly half-holiday was won as a supplement to the Sabbath, and to satisfy man's *physical* needs.

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[1] Lucy Taylor, 166.

[2] David Williamson (*Lord Shaftesbury's Legacy*, 15–16) draws attention to the "similarity in facial appearance" between Lincoln and Shaftesbury: the reference is apt. Great tenderness and brooding care are mirrored in the countenance of both these noble characters, who had so much in common.

CHAPTER XVII

INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY IN THE COLLIERIES

ONE day, when Melbourne and Ashley were the Queen's guests at Windsor Castle, the ex-Premier, pointing to the social reformer, exclaimed : ' There, madam, is the greatest Jacobin in your Majesty's dominions." [1] Melbourne's jibe was, of course, a good-natured thrust ; but, like other caricatures, it derived force from the fact that it contained an undeniable measure of veracity. Shaftesbury assuredly was a *constitutional* revolutionist ; nevertheless, a revolutionist, a Jacobin, he certainly was : and Melbourne, to his grief, had considerable opportunity of realizing that fact.[2] Indeed, Shaftesbury's Mines and Collieries Act is probably the most revolutionary piece of industrial legislation ever placed on Britain's Statute Books. Such authorities as Hutchins and Harrison refer to it as " perhaps the most high-handed interference with industry enacted by the State in the nineteenth century." [3]

But to understand the origin of this " high-handed interference " it is necessary to turn to Ashley's speech in the Commons, August 4, 1840, in which he pleaded for a Royal Commission to inquire into " the employment of children of the poorer classes in Mines and Collieries, and in the various branches of trade and manufacture in which numbers of children work together, not being included in the provisions of the Acts for regulating the employment of children or young persons in mills and factories. . . ." [4]

Introducing this motion, Shaftesbury struck characteristic notes. First he emphasized the importance of child-life as a nation's supreme asset ; then he asked his fellow-legislators to consider, at what cost to children, Britain's industrial supremacy

[1] Hodder, i. 420.

[2] Although Melbourne and Ashley had little in common, they were related by marriage ; Ashley's wife was a daughter of Melbourne's sister.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 82.

[4] *Speeches*, 29.

was being purchased. But the day was far spent before Shaftesbury was allowed to speak; Members were weary from long concentration on Government business; the attendance was scanty, and any gentleman on the benches could stop the speaker "midway in his career." Consequently, sensing the temper of the House, the "Children's Champion" was quick in getting to his evidence. By rapid sketches he demonstrated beyond doubt that in a score of manufactures, children were being condemned to a life of semi-barbarism in the name of industrial advancement. In tobacco manufactories, kiddies of seven were working twelve hours a day, and left without any education; in bleaching factories they went to work at any hour, day or night, while their only source of education was the Sunday School: and for the most part they were too utterly fatigued to profit by its instruction. Conditions in potteries were no better. At draw-boy-weaving and frame work-knitting, tiny youngsters often began labour at 3 or 4 a.m., and continued as much as sixteen and even eighteen hours a day; while at card-setting children were employed "from five years old and upwards," their labour extending "from five or six o'clock in the morning till eight at night." Nevertheless, in calico-printing works and pin-factories conditions were, if possible, still worse; for in the latter industry children were actually sold over by their parents for months or even years. Moreover, added to such disgraces, was the fact that kiddies often were employed in steamy, ill-ventilated environments without any provision whatever for health or sanitation.[1] But emphasizing the horrors of these and other occupations still outside the law, Shaftesbury quoted Commissioner Tuffnell's conclusion, that "the hardest labour in the worst room in the worst conducted factory, is less hard, less cruel and less demoralizing, than the labour in the best of the *coal mines*."

For all exploited children, young persons and women Shaftesbury was determined to win protection; nevertheless, he knew that abuses in the mines were probably equal to the sum-total of those in other unrestricted industries: and into these dark depths he was resolved that a flood of light must be poured.

Having presented much evidence, Shaftesbury challenged the Commons to deny that they were tolerating "a system of slavery

[1] H. of C., Aug. 4, 1840; *Reports, Commissions* (2), 1843, xiii (Trades and Manufactures).

under the sanction of law"; and he ventured to remind them that they would "blush if horses or oxen were so disabled in service" as hundreds of these helpless children. But still other considerations had to be weighed. *Economically* this "sweated labour" was unfair toward industries already controlled by legislation; *socially* it was a putrid sore on the body politic, for the fatigue engendered produced a stimulus to drunkenness and debauchery; *morally* it was a denial of life s highest attributes. Public opinion on this matter, Shaftesbury contended, could alone solve the problem. Like Dr. Chalmers, he too demanded "an aggressive movement for education"; but he realized that true education was something more comprehensive than a smattering of reading, writing and arithmetic. A moral and religious education quickening the conscience of society, he maintained, could alone remedy the evil. Therefore he called for the endeavours not only of legislators, but also for those of all religious leaders: "I must appeal to bishops and ministers of the Church of England, nay, more, to the ministers of every denomination, to urge on the hearts of their hearers the mischief and the danger of these covetous and cruel practices." [1] "I am sure," he exclaimed, "that the exhibition of the peril will terrify even the most sluggish, and the most reluctant, into some attempt at amendment." Then, expressing the desire for higher motives, he explained the reason for his own enthusiasm: "For my own part I will say, though possibly I may be charged with cant and hypocrisy, that I have been bold enough to undertake this task, because I must regard the objects of it as being created, like ourselves, by the same Master, redeemed by the same Saviour, and destined to the same immortality." [2]

After sounding this clarion call for a Royal Commission Shaftesbury read his motion, and then sat down to await the verdict of the House. Some Members may have been converted by sheer horror of the facts revealed; some, it is more than probable, voted for the motion in order to silence the agitation of a troublesome enthusiast, whom they could not subdue. In any event, what could be the danger in granting a harmless Commission? Might it not provide a safety-valve for Shaftesbury's "fanaticism?" For even if investigators should report unpleasant things, could not their findings be hushed up? But

[1] Hansard, Aug. 4, 1840. [2] *Speeches*, 28.

whatever the motives of those who voted, the Commission was granted; and forthwith Thomas Tooke, a well-known economist, Dr. Southwood Smith, of public health fame,[1] and factory inspectors Leonard Horner and Rob. J. Saunders, together with a body of Sub-Commissioners, were soon dispatched to the task of investigation.

This Commission, performing its duties with marked ability, issued two reports, one in 1842 on "Mines," the other in 1843, on "Trades and Manufactures." Both contain valuable material; but historically the importance of the former far outstrips the latter, for from the revelations of this Report Shaftesbury extracted the illustrative material that carried his Mines and Collieries Bill to victory.[2] And it is around this Report that our present chapter centres.

Tooke, Smith, Horner and Saunders were men of no sensational turn of mind. They were sane, efficient gentlemen with no taste for scandal. Indeed, it will be remembered that both Tooke and Smith sat on the Government Commission of 1833, whose express purpose was to tone down, if not flatly to contradict, the "exaggeration" of Sadler's Report. No, these men had no love for sensation; yet, as they began familiarizing themselves with mining conditions, the revelation of savagery greeting their eyes defied description by words alone: so they hit on the idea of illustrating their report by sketches drawn in the pits. Word pictures, they concluded, might be charged with exaggeration; but sketches, drawn on the spot, must speak the truth. Then too, the Commissioners calculated that some people, including not a few M.P.'s, would take time to study the pictures, even although they could not be induced to peruse the Report.

When the Commission's findings began to strike the public ear, the modesty and propriety of early Victorian England were shocked to a last degree, and the Home Secretary made determined, though futile, attempts to suppress the Report. Shaftesbury's Diary, May 7th, 1842, is illuminating: "The Report

[1] Dr. F. S. Smith was a fearless champion of decent housing. Before a Government Commission, 1840, he said: "These poor people are victims that are sacrificed. The effect is the same as if twenty or thirty thousand of them were annually taken out of their homes and put to death: the only difference being that they are left in them to die" (Mrs. Lewes's *Dr. Southwood Smith*, 104; Hodder, i. 361).

[2] In Feb. 1841, Commissioners were instructed to include young persons, as well as children, in their investigations.

of the Commission is out—a noble document. The Home Office in vain endeavoured to hold it back; it came by a most providential mistake into the hands of members; and though the Secretary of State for a long while prevented the sale of it, he could not prevent publicity, or any notice of motion. Perhaps even 'civilization' itself never exhibited such a mass of sin and cruelty. The disgust felt is very great, thank God; but will it be reduced to action when I call for a remedy?"[1] It was now obvious enough that any Members who voted for a Commission as a means of side-tracking Ashley's "fanaticism," were about to be confronted with a startling disillusionment.

Even to-day, after eight decades, a reading of this Report produces an irrepressible shudder, and makes the blood run cold. Commissioners found that in every coal-mining district of Britain children under thirteen were regularly employed underground; and in many districts, women and girls were subjected to even worse conditions than men and boys. Ireland was the only part of the Kingdom which, taken as a whole, was free from this legal slavery.[2] Throughout the East of Scotland, in Wales, Yorkshire and Lancashire, little kiddies, girls as well as boys, in a stuffy, gas-laden atmosphere of semi-darkness, were found engaged in tasks of indescribable drudgery: and these tasks frequently were performed in sloppy roadways, "no better than common sewers," where an ordinary-sized dog could not have followed, save in a crouched position.

The most gruesome of "all children's employments in mines was that of a "hurrier." Youngsters engaged at this task were in some cases entirely naked; in others they wore either a "shift" (a sort of shirt) or a pair of trousers, but rarely both. To perform their labour a leather belt or rope girdle was fastened around the waist, and to this girdle was attached a chain, which, passing between the child's "hind legs"[3] was hooked to the coal-sled or "corve"; then, on all fours, like dogs hitched to cart, these little innocents pulled their loads of coal, varying from 1 to 2½ cwt., through roadways of rock, covered often with

[1] Hodder, i. 418.

[2] Lord Londonderry, debating this problem in the Lords, said the reason women and children were not employed in Irish mines was that *men's* labour was there so cheap that there was no inducement to employ women and children. Shaftesbury, however, interpreted the case in a very different way, paying high tribute to Ireland's humanity.

[3] Ashley used this term in describing the process to the Commons.

water and mud.[1] Commissioners reported scores of cases where the roofs of these subterranean thoroughfares were only 20 to 28 inches above the floors. Several cases were found where the depth of tunnels was only 18 inches; and in one instance children were discovered "hurrying" in a sewer-like passage 16 inches deep.

Where the passage was deep enough, and the roadway not too sloppy, coal "corves" were placed on wheels 5 or 6 inches in diameter, and then the load "hurried" varied from 2½ to 5 cwt., according to the child's strength and the slope of the roadway. But in still better passages tracks were laid, and on them wheeled corves were pulled. In this case, however, loads were frequently increased to 9 cwt., particularly when two children hurried together: again, in cases where three children hurried the same corve, loads even exceeded 12 cwt. In such an instance one child went ahead pulling with chain and girdle on all fours, while behind two youngsters, crouched into almost horizontal posture, and with heads planted against the back of the coal-carriage, pushed like Trojans.[2] One result of this process was that not a few kiddies had bald spots worn on the top of their heads.

The Commission, reporting on the "*nature of employment*" near Halifax, said: "Girls from five to eighteen perform all the work of boys. There is no distinction whatever in their coming up the shaft or going down—in the mode of hurrying or thrusting—in the weight of the corves, or in the distance they are hurried—in wages, or dress. . . ."[3] John Marsden, aged 8½, engaged at Wike-lane Pit, gave evidence typical of hundreds: "I hurry a dozen and twelve corves a day (that is twenty to the dozen); my brother Lawrence helps me, and we have to hurry the corves about 200 yards." Further describing conditions near Halifax the Report states: "In this district the loaded corves drawn by the hurriers weigh from 2 to 5 cwt., these carriages are mounted upon four cast iron-wheels of 5 inches in diameter, there being, in general, no rails from the headings to the main-gates. The children have to drag their carriages through passages in some cases not more than 16 to 20 inches in height. Of course to accomplish this the youngest children

[1] See illustrations in Report, particularly Fig. 20, p. 98 (*Parl. Papers*, 1842, xv.)
[2] *Ibid.*, Fig. 6, p. 82.
[3] *Mines*, 80 (*Commissioners' Report*, 1842).

must crawl on their hands and feet. . . ."[1] In Oldham districts roadways were so low "that only little boys can work in them, which they do naked, and often in mud and water, dragging sledge-tubs by the chain and girdle." A North Lancashire lad worked in "a pit of not more than 20 inches seam" which at times had a foot of water in it, "so that he could hardly keep his head out of the water."[2]

A Yorkshire Sub-Commissioner provides a description typical of many districts: "I descended this pit accompanied by one of the bankmen, and, on alighting at the bottom, found the entrance to the mainstay 2 feet 10 inches, and which extended 500 yards. The bottom was deep in mire, and as I had no corves low enough to convey me to the workings, I waited some time under the dripping shaft the arrival of the hurriers, as I had reason to suspect there were some very young children labouring there. At length three girls arrived, with as many boys. It was impossible in the dark to distinguish the sexes. They were all naked except their shifts or shirts. Having packed one into the corve, I gave the signal and ascended. On alighting at the pit's bank I discovered that it was a girl. I could not have believed that I should have found human nature so degraded. . . ."[3] Mary Barrett, aged fourteen, declared: "I work always without stockings, shoes, or trousers; I wear nothing but my shift; I have to go up to the headings with the men; they are all naked there; I am got well used to that, and don't care now much about it; I was afraid at first and did not like it." Robert North testified: "I went into a pit at seven years of age. When I drew with the girdle and chain the skin was broken and blood ran down. . . . If we said anything they would beat us. I have seen many draw at six. They must do it or be beat. They cannot straighten their backs during the day. I have sometimes pulled till my hips have hurt me so that I have not known what to do with myself."[4] Richard Hare, agent of Kilgetty Colliery, Pembrokeshire, Wales, said: "We employ males and females below ground to draw small wagons. The vein of our coal is not exceeding 2 feet in height, and only 12 inches in many parts. None of the children cut the coal. The work is good hard sort, but young people alone

[1] *Mines*, 78 (*Commissioners' Report*, 1842).
[2] Shaftesbury, *Mines and Collieries*, 12.
[3] *Commissioners' Report*, 80.
[4] H. of C., June 7, 1842.

can do it, as our mainways *do not exceed*[1] 3 feet to 3 feet 6 inches in height."[2] Again, Robert Seton, eleven, "coal-putter" in East Scotland, declared: "Father took me down when I was six years old, and I have wrought below ever since. Brother and I draw one wagon, which holds 6 cwt. of coal. The work is sair as ever laddie put his hand to."[3]

The unblushing precedence of profits over child life is illustrated by the self-contradictory evidence of Lionel Brough, engineer and viewer, Neath, Wales: "In one of the Pembrokeshire veins of anthracite, the top and bottom are so excessively bad, that all the timber they can send down to the pit is insufficient to keep the ways good enough for horse-roads. . . . To say that horse-height could not be kept good in the vein would be perhaps a misrepresentation, but it could only be effected at a cost that would deprive the owners of the mine of all profit whatever. . . . In some of the veins I can safely say that, but for the aid of boys to perform the carting, these seams would not be worked at all. The employment is by no means more dangerous than other duties that fall to the lot of children under ground."[4] How similar is this argument to that raised by opponents of factory legislation! As soon as any industrial reform was suggested there always appeared a chorus of mourners drawling out their doleful song that trade would be destroyed, capital would be ruined, and misery would stalk forth through the land. Without children's labour in factories it was argued, Britain's mercantile supremacy would be forever lost; without infants crawling like beasts of burden through sewer-like passages underground, certain "seams would not be worked at all."

But though "hurrying" was the most gruesome of all juvenile employments, it should not be forgotten that it was only one of many pursuits to which mining children were forced to turn. Indeed, the demand for a degree of strength protected the smallest from this employment;[5] but certain other labours were considered perfectly suitable for kiddies as young as four. In fact, besides hurriers, children were found employed as "trappers," ass-drivers, hewers, coal-carriers, "fillers," pump-men and even enginemen; while in rare instances infants were

[1] Italics inserted.
[2] P. 102 of *Report*.
[3] *Ibid.*, 180.
[4] *Mines*, 101.
[5] One overseer informed Commissioners that, in his experience, children under ten were of little use as "hurriers," because of insufficient strength.

carried down the mines in bed-gowns to hold candles for their fathers. It was as "trappers," or air-door keepers, however, that the smallest children were most universally employed; and upon the discharge of their function depended the safety of all life within the mines: for the doors they tended were part of a ventilation system forcing inflowing air to circulate through various underground passages before escaping through the "outflow." Different from hurriers, the actual labour performed by "trappers" was negligible; all they had to do was open and shut the doors whenever "carriages" arrived. Yet, remembering that these striplings sat alone, in total or semi-darkness, and that not infrequently they were subjected to a constant drip of water, it will be seen that their position was far from enviable. But added to this damp, solitary darkness, there was also the pest of rats and vermin. It was not unknown for trappers to have their food stolen by rats; and sometimes large rats became so bold as to run off with "lighted candles in their mouths and explode the gas."[1] Indeed, Commissioners declared that were it not for the passing of coal carriages the trapper's lot would "amount to solitary confinement of the worst order": and, as it was, the loneliness of these hapless infants not infrequently produced imbecility.

The condition of youngsters acting as pumpmen, coal-carriers, ass-drivers, hewers, "fillers," etc., was not so lonely as that of trappers, but in other respects it was worse. Alexander Grey, aged ten, an underground pump boy in East Scotland, who started pumping at eight years of age, gave this description of his toil: "I pump water in the underbottom of the pit, to keep the men's rooms dry. I am obliged to pump fast or the water would cover me. I had to run away a few weeks ago, as the water came up so fast that I could *no* pump at all, and the men were obliged to *gang*. The water frequently covers my legs. . . . I have been two years at the pump. I work every day, whether men work or not: no holidays but Sabbath. I go down at three, sometimes five in the morning; and come up at six and seven at night. I know I work 12 and 14 hours, as I can tell by the clock."[2] Little girls, in certain districts, were employed in similar drudgery.

Colliery conditions in West Scotland, and to a lesser degree in North Wales, were comparatively good. Indeed, in these

[1] Hodder, *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 88. [2] *Mines, Report*, 96.

districts relatively few women and small children were employed underground; but in South Wales and East Scotland enslavement of both women and children was rampant.[1] Reporting on the "nature of employment" in South Wales the Commission declared: "In this district children begin to hew or get coal, even at earlier ages than in the East of Scotland."[2] One or two illustrations from this area will suffice. Thomas Jenkins, ten years old, said: "Father took me down to claim his dram when I was six years old; have worked below ever since; I work with John Jones now, who pays father 2s. 6d. a week for my labour. When I fall asleep they wake me up. I work . . . from six morning till six evening, or three morning till five evening." Joseph Richards, *aged seven*: "Has been down three years and a half (steward said he was sure the boy had been down at least three years)."

Some kiddies, fortunately, were occasionally allowed to sleep. John Evans, aged eight, who had been two years below, testified: "Father took me down to claim a dram. Has often fallen as ep. Father pulls me up when he wants me." Henry George, seven years old, said: "Twelve months below: assists Davy Jones to pick . . . works very hard sometimes, and at others goes to sleep." Another lad of seven declared: "Been 12 months below; father lets me sleep when I am tired; am 12 or 14 hours in the pit; father takes my wages. I don't know what I earn."[3] Jain Richard Richards, seven, made this statement: "Helps to fill father's coal; sometimes works in stall with father at cutting coal; father gets a dram for me now and then."

Reporting on a Halifax district, Commissioners said: "In this vicinity the children begin work . . . at the same early ages. One case is recorded in which a child was regularly taken i to the pit by his father at *three years* of age. 'It was made follow him to the workings, there to hold the candle, and when exhausted with fatigue was cradled upon the coals until his return at night.'"[4]

It was left to East Scotland, however, to establish the unenviable record of employing a larger percentage of girls than any other district of the Kingdom. The work of these girls was mostly coal-carrying: hence, as this toil demanded that the

[1] The state of many pits in Yorkshire and Lancashire was such that they could scarcely throw stones at the worst-conducted collieries in East Scotland or South Wales.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 102. [3] *Ibid.*, 103. [4] P. 14.

body be crouched into almost semi-circular posture, and as the girls frequently had to ascend ladders, some of which measured 18 feet, they presented a spectacle of pitiable serfdom. The Commissioners' description, however, requires no comment: "Persons employed in coal-carrying are almost always girls and women. Boys are sometimes engaged in the same labour, but that is comparatively rare. The coal-bearers have to carry coal on their backs in unrailed roads with burdens varying from ¾ cwt. to 3 cwt. The Sub-Commissioner reports this toil as 'cruel, slaving, revolting to humanity'; yet he found engaged in this labour a child, a beautiful girl, only six years old, whose age he ascertained, carrying in the pit ½ cwt. of coals,[1] and regularly making with this load fourteen long and tiresome journeys a day."[2] The girl referred to, was Margaret Leveston; her own statement reads: "Been down at coal-carrying, six weeks; makes 10 to 14 rakes a day;[3] carries 56 lb. of coal in wooden backit. The work is na guid; it is very sair. I work with sister Jessie and Mother; dinna ken the time we gang; it is gai dark." To this evidence is appended a Sub-Commissioner's comment: "A most interesting child and perfectly beautiful. I ascertained her age to be six years, 24th May, 1840; she was registered at Inverness." The evidence of Ellison Jack, a girl eleven years old, is scarcely less suggestive than that of the lassie just described: "I have been working about three years on my father's account; he takes me down at two in the mornings and I come up at one or two next afternoon. I go to bed at six at night to be ready for work next morning. . . . I have to bear my burden up four traps, or ladders. . . .[4] My task is four to five tubs; each tub holds 4½ cwt. I fill five tubs in twenty journeys. I have had the strap when I did not do my bidding. Am very glad when my task is wrought, as it sore fatigues."[5]

Commenting on this child's labour, the Commissioner reported that in each of her journeys, "the height ascended and the distance along the roads added together, exceed the height of St. Paul's Cathedral"; yet she regularly made from sixteen

[1] Canadian and American readers must remember that this means 56, not 50 lb.

[2] *Mines*, 91.

[3] "Rake" was a complete journey with a load of coals from the workings to the tubs.

[4] Fig. 15, p. 96 of Report, for sketch of children carrying coal up ladders.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 91.

to twenty trips a day, carrying in each case from 1 to 1½ cwt. of coal. But besides sketches, showing girls at work as beasts of burden, the Report provided a restrained, though forceful, account of this toil. Describing the method of coal-carrying, they pointed out that "straps are placed over the forehead, and the body bent in a semicircular form, in order to stiffen the arch." Then, over the arched body extended the "backit," piled high with coal. Even the neck was frequently loaded; for, the backit being full, "large lumps of coal are then placed on the neck." Again, on the ladders serious accidents were by no means rare: "It not infrequently happens that the tugs break, and the load falls upon those females who are following." The effects of a breakage upon any unfortunate creature below, may be imagined from the Commissioners' reference to the size of the loads: "However incredible it may be, yet I have taken the evidence of fathers who have ruptured themselves from striving to lift coal on their children's backs." [1]

Janet Cumming, eleven years old, throws light on this employment: "I gang with the women at five at night; work *all night* on Fridays, and come away at twelve in the day. I carry the large bits of coal from the coal-face to the pit-bottom, and the small pieces called chows in a creel. The weight is usually a hundredweight; does not know how many pounds there are in a hundredweight,[2] but it is some weight to carry. . . . The distance varies as the work is not always on the same wall; sometimes 150 fathoms, whiles 250 fathoms (500 yards). The roof is very low; I have to bend my back and legs. Has no liking for the work; father makes me like it. Never got hurt, but often obliged to scramble out of the pit when bad air was in." The statement of Agnes Kerr, fifteen, is duplicated by many another helpless lass: "Was nine years old when commenced carrying coals; carry father's coal; make eighteen to twenty journeys a day; a journey to and fro is about 200 to 250 fathoms: have to ascend and descend many ladders; can carry 1½ cwt." [3]

Turning to the Commission's findings regarding the *treatment* of children and young persons, as distinguished from their employment, we discover that, although in this respect districts

[1] *Mines*, 92.

[2] This, and all similar references, designates an English cwt.—112, not 100, lb.

[3] *Mines*, 93.

varied greatly, in numerous instances the treatment meted out was most revolting; indeed, it was sometimes satanic. In many cases, although there were splendid exceptions, the coal-owners "neither knew nor cared how the children were treated." Butties or jobbers were frequently invested with complete right of action; consequently they had power to bargain for, to work, thrash and dismiss children just as they pleased. John Grant, thirteen, employed in Butterley Park Colliery, Derbyshire, said: "Gets thrashed by the butties with what they can lay their hands on. They set them more than they can do, and then beat them; has been thrashed at Mr. Wooley's pit until the blood has run down his side." [1] Another witness said: "I was once beat by a man who bullied me to do what was beyond my strength. I said I would not do it because I could not. The man threw me down, and put out two of my ribs. I had to keep from work eleven months. My father was too quiet to take him before a magistrate." [2] This savage treatment should not, of course, be looked upon as typical of punishments in all districts, or even in all pits within the same district. In some regions, notably West Scotland, North and South Durham, Northumberland and Cumberland, real efforts were made by the management to suppress cruelty.[3] Nevertheless, Commissioners' evidence shows that in many pits a Rule of Terror prevailed. One Sub-Commissioner, reporting an experience, in a pit near Halifax, said: "I remember meeting with one of the boys crying very bitterly, and bleeding from a wound in the cheek. I found out his master at a remote heading, who told me, in a tone of savage defiance, that the child was one of the slow ones, who would only move when he saw blood, and that by throwing a piece of coal at him for that purpose, he had accomplished his object, and that he often adopted the like means." [4]

Of all parts of the Kingdom, however, Derbyshire held the record for ill-treating children. According to returns supplied by coal-owners,[5] no girls were employed underground in this

[1] *Mines*, 127. [2] *Ibid.*, 126.

[3] We look in vain, however, for any great mine-owners to place alongside such generous and public-spirited factory owners as Owen, Wood, Fielden and Brotherton.

[4] *Mines*, 130.

[5] The tables supplied on p. 38 of Report were compiled from returns by mine-owners. But the Commission pointed out that, for the most part, it was the better conducted mines that returned reports. Some of the worst returned none at all. Hence the tables make the situation appear more favourable than it actually was.

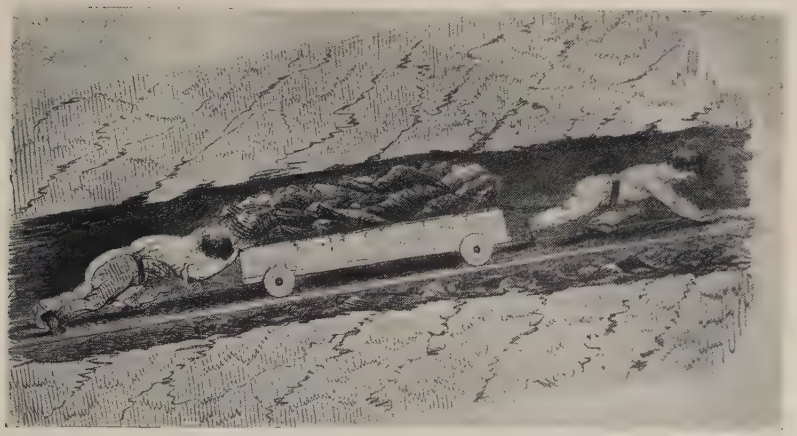
district; but the punishments inflicted upon boys would rival the savagery of Central Africa. The case of James Robinson, fourteen years old, is suggestive: "No rewards, but is often beaten by the corporal Sam Meakin; he beat him last week so that he could not raise his arm; the stick was as thick as two fingers, and a knob at the end; he broke it over him." This same lad related experiences in another pit: "The corporal there had kicked him when he was down, pulled his ears and hair, and threw coals at him; he dare not tell his masters then, or he believes the corporal would have killed him. His brothers, one ten, and the other thirteen years old, now work at Hunt's, and are beaten until they can hardly get home, and dare not tell for fear of worse usage, and they and their father losing their work." [1] Children's fear to complain of brutal treatment, is a marked feature of the evidence. Another lad stated that: "He is not only punished with a stick, but his ears are pulled, as well as being kicked and bruised by the butties, and those who break the coal out. His brother was so beaten about three or four months since he dare not go again to the pit. He is only nine years old, and drives between; he gets so tired that he cannot go on, and then towards dinner-time, or the end of the day, the corporal thrashes him. . . . His mother has complained to the masters, who always say they shall not be served so, but they hear no more of it and are used no better." [2]

In some districts overseers carried straps for thrashing youngsters. But such punishment was relatively humane, for instances were found where overseers had attacked children with picks and "beat them into a jelly"; had knocked their heads against rocky walls; had shaken them by the ears with clinched fingers, till the nails cut through; had pulled their hair, kicked them, thrown chunks of coal at them, and even attacked them with boards from which rusty nails protruded. Moreover, when brutal treatment was not directly inflicted, it was often administered indirectly. One mother swore: "My boy, ten years old, was at work; about half a year back his toe was cut off by a bind falling; notwithstanding this the loader made him work until the end of the day, although in great pain." [3] Harriet Craven, aged eleven, employed near Halifax, addressing the Sub-Commissioner,

[1] *Op. cit.*, 127 (Sect. 510).

[2] Small wonder the lad got so tired; for working hours in Derbyshire district were the worst in the Kingdom—thirteen to sixteen.

[3] Shaftesbury, *Mines and Collieries*, 26.



THESE CUTS ARE REPRINTED FROM THE FIRST REPORT OF THE CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION (MINES, 1842)

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while in tears, said : " What made me cry when you came down was because Ibbotson had been braying (beating) me ; he flung a piece of coal as big as my head at me, and it struck me in my back."

Children's work in the mines was, for the most part, that of beasts of burden, and frequently like beasts of burden were they treated. Even little ass-drivers were taught savagery in this school of barbarism ; for in many pits it was only by cruelly beating the asses that the lads avoided cruel treatment themselves. Thomas Birken, aged ten, declared that : " About half a year back Thomas Gibson, the loader, nipped him with his nails until he cut quite through the ears ; has often nipped his ears both before and since ; it was because he could not make the asses go sharp enough." The callous indifference developed by colliery conditions, is well illustrated by Oldham's Chief Constable : " There are so many killed, that it becomes quite customary to expect such things, and people say ' Oh, it is only a collier ! ' There would be more feeling exhibited if a policeman were to kill a dog in the streets. Even the colliers amongst themselves say so ; so that when they learn which it is that is killed, that is all they think about it." [1] Further proof of the cheapness of collier life may be adduced from the fact that it was common to place engines, which lowered colliers down shafts and raised them to the surface, under care of boys, nine to twelve years old ; and the result of this practice was a prodigal loss of life through childish carelessness. Indeed, in one instance, several lives were lost because of an engine-boy's impulse to turn away from his machine and chase a mouse which appeared at a critical moment : but as the lad pursued this mouse, several human beings were plunged down the shaft to immediate death. Such fatalities, however, had not persuaded the mine-owners to pay higher wages and place responsible persons in charge of engines.

But as one studies the evidence of this juvenile army, it appears that no part of their tale is more tragic than the fact that they seemed to have lost all sense of playfulness and frolic. Winter clasped them in its frigid grip before they had tasted the mirth of spring. They were as little old men and women who had never known the exuberance of childhood. Their minds were even too weary to receive lasting impressions in

[1] Shaftesbury, *Mines and Collieries*, 28.

Sunday Schools, as their teachers abundantly testified; and their bodies were too fatigued to experience any desire for recreation. Robert Blount, aged ten, declared that: "He is always too tired to play, and is glad to get to bed; his back and legs ache; he had rather drive plough or go to school than work in a pit." John Hawkins, eight: "Is tired and glad to get home; never wants to play." William Watson, twelve: "Always too tired to play, and glad to get to bed." [1] Daniel Drenchfield testified: "I am going in ten. . . . I work all day the same as the other boys; I rest me when I go home at night; I never go to play at night; I get my supper and go to bed." [2] Margaret Gomley, nine, suggests that she was too weary even to give evidence. All she said was: "I am very tired." And so from the mouths of thousands of children, in districts far apart, proceeded the same mournful dirge—the work is very hard; too tired to play; often too tired to eat; too weary for Sunday School; sometimes given a dram; only want to go to bed and sleep. The evidence of children themselves, however, is supported by testimony from Sunday School teachers, parents, pastors, doctors, etc. William Robinson, Sunday School teacher, Ilkeston: "Has taught the class where the principal part of the collier-boys are; he finds them duller and more tired than the other boys; has often seen even the bigger boys fall asleep . . . excepting on a Sunday, they are months without seeing daylight; they often tell him they could not awake; he finds they are willing but far backwarder than the other boys who are not so old." [3]

Fortunately, in February 1841, the Commission received "Supplemental Instructions" to include "within its inquiry the Labour of Young Persons designated as such by the provisions of the Factory Act"; this extension of scope encouraged the investigators to go a little beyond the strict limits of their authority and to incorporate within their report a picture of the treatment of *all mining women independent of age*.[4] For Ashley it was well that this liberty was taken, because the revelations disclosed gave leverage to his peremptory demands for drastic legislation. True, the evidence of girls up to eighteen, who, according to Commissioners' instructions, were included as "young persons," might in itself have thrown light on con-

[1] *Mines*, 174. [2] *Ibid.*, 176. [3] *Ibid.*, 175.

[4] It was not till the Act of 1844 that women were placed on the same legal basis of protection as young persons. This liberty of the Commissioners, therefore, served as an important precedent for the 1844 Act.

ditions of colliery women as a whole; nevertheless, the liberty which Commissioners assumed undoubtedly set this question in clearer perspective. Betty Harris, for instance, aged thirty-seven, engaged in a pit at Little Bolton, said: "I have belt round my waist, and a chain passing between my legs, and I go on my hands and feet. The road is very steep and we have to hold by a rope; and when there is no rope, by anything we can catch hold of. . . . The pit is very wet where I work, and the water comes over my clogg-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs: it rains in the pit terribly;[1] my clothes are wet through almost all day long. . . . I have drawn till I have had the skin off me; the belt and chain are worse when we are in the family way. My feller (husband) has beaten me many a time for not being ready. I were not used to it at first and he had little patience: I have known many a man beat his drawer. I have known men take liberty with the drawers, and some of the women have bastards."[2]

A Yorkshire Sub-Commissioner, commenting on the evidence of certain young women, said: "I can not only corroborate their statements, but have no hesitation in adding that were they galley-slaves their work could not be more oppressive, and I believe would not in all probability be so much so."[3] William Hunter, an oversman in East Scotland, declared: "Females submit to work in places where no man or even lad could be got to labour in: they work in bad roads, up to their knees in water in a posture nearly double; they are below till the last hour of pregnancy: they have swelled haunches and ankles and are prematurely brought to the grave, or, what is worse, lingering existence."[4] It requires little imagination to picture the plight of Margaret Hipps, a girl of seventeen: "My employment, after reaching the wall face, is to fill a bagie with 2½ to 3 cwt. of coal. I then hook it to my chain, and drag it through the seam, which is 26 to 28 inches high, till I get to the main road—a good distance, probably 200 to 400 yards. The pavement I drag on is wet, and I am obliged to crawl on hands and feet with my bagie hung to the chain and ropes. It is sad sweating, sore fatiguing work, and frequently maims the women."

An old Scotch witness, Isabel Hogg, reported that: "From the great sore labour, false births are frequent and very

[1] The writer has been down mines (gold and silver as well as coal) where the constant dripping of water could be fairly described as "rain."

[2] *Mines*, 84. [3] *Ibid.*, 75. [4] *Ibid.*, 93.

dangerous. . . . You must just tell the Queen Victoria that we are quiet, loyal subjects; women-people who don't mind work; but they object to horse-work; and that she would have the blessing of all the Scotch coal-women if she would get them out of the pits, and send them to other labour." [1] Commissioners were apparently brought to the same conclusion as Isabel Hogg, for they reported that "the state which females are in after pulling like horses through these holes—their perspiration, their exhaustion, and very frequently even their tears, it is painful in the extreme to witness." One Sub-Commissioner, describing this drudgery, remarked: "A picture is presented of deadly physical oppression and systematic slavery, of which I conscientiously believe no one unacquainted with such facts would credit the existence in the British Dominions." Some evidence was too terrible for print. Frequently women were kept at work till the day of child-birth, and a week to a fortnight was the ordinary time allowed for recuperation in cases of maternity. One witness said: "I have had three or four children born the same day I have been at work, and have gone back to my work nine or ten days after: four of the eight were still-born." Added to all this savagery, women and girls were frequently sent to labour where men and boys could not be induced to go; yet, in return for such toil, they were generally paid less than men; [2] and though a woman frequently carried from 2 to 3 cwt. of coals, she was commonly referred to as "half a man." [3]

If anything could be more repulsive than the treatment of women, it was the *moral effects* which that treatment bred. "All classes of witnesses," the Report states, "bear the strongest testimony to the immoral effects of this practice." One witness said: "The girls are worse than the men in morals and use far more indecent language." This statement probably was exaggerated: but who would deny that the practice of sending young women, half-dressed, to attend men absolutely naked, was certain to lend itself to shocking immorality? Some evidence is revolting beyond measure. Certain colliers admitted that they had frequent intimacies with their young hurries, and that they were the fathers of illegitimate children by them. Joseph

[1] Shaftesbury, *Mines and Collieries*, 19. The Queen was much moved by this message and took an active interest in Shaftesbury's prosecution of the reforming Bill; so also did Prince Albert.

[2] In some cases, however, women were given the same pay as men.

[3] "Apprentice" boys from orphanages were also sent to perform the severest tasks, though they themselves drew no pay at all.

Ellison of Birkinshaw, Yorkshire, said: "I know a case of a girl being employed as a hurrier, having been attempted to be ravished frequently by her father-in-law. . . . Where girls are employed the immoralities practised are scandalous."[1] Dr. Thomas Sadler, stated: "I strongly disapprove of females being in pits; female character is totally destroyed by it. . . . It is a brutalizing practice for women to be in collieries; the effect on their morals is very bad; it would be advisable to prevent females from going into pits." Ministers of Religion, representing all denominations, gave evidence to the same effect; while the testimony of John Thornley, J.P., was re-echoed by many another magistrate. Thornley's statement reads: "I consider it to be a most awfully demoralizing practice. The youth of both sexes are often in a half-naked state, and the passions are excited before they arrive at puberty. Sexual intercourse decidedly frequently occurs in consequence. Cases of bastardy frequently also occur; and I am decidedly of opinion that women brought up in this way lay aside all modesty, and scarcely know what it is but by name. . . ."

Although it is certain that depravity among colliers supplemented cupidity among masters in producing this condition of female serfdom, it nevertheless is notable that many miners themselves opposed the labour of girls and women underground. At a meeting in Barnsley, attended by 350 colliers, this resolution was carried with only five dissentients: "That the employment of girls in pits is highly injurious to their morals, that it is not proper work for females, and that it is a scandalous practice."[2] The prevalence, however, in certain districts, of this "scandalous practice" may be gauged from the fact that in Pembrokeshire, Wales, there were more than 42 per cent. as many adult women in the pits as adult men. Moreover, applying a little arithmetic to the Commissioners' tables, we find that in several districts the total of women, children and young persons employed[3] in collieries was greater than that of adult males. Yet, these tables were compiled from reports filled in by masters, and not a few of the worst mines refrained from sending in returns; thus making the average condition of the districts appear more favourable than in reality it was.

Concerning *hours of labour*, shrewd inference may be drawn

[1] *Mines*, 32.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Young persons," of course, meant those over thirteen and under eighteen.

from evidence already reviewed. Nowhere was the regular period of toil less than eleven hours, while in Derbyshire the working day was from thirteen to sixteen hours. John Hawkins, the first witness quoted on this subject, a lad eight years old, who already had worked underground a year and a half, said that he went down the pit at 5 a.m. and worked till 9 p.m.[1] Some youngsters seven years old, and even younger, were toiling equally long hours; while in cases of emergency, it was not uncommon to work children the whole night through. Certain other districts, however, were not far behind Derbyshire in this cruel practice. Elizabeth Selkirk, aged eleven, a hurrier in East Scotland, who "crawled on all fours," said that she "works from three in the morning till four or five in the afternoon, and frequently all night."[2] Again, Anne Hamilton, seventeen years old, testified: "I have repeatedly wrought the twenty-four hours, and after two hours of rest and my peas (soup) have returned to the pit and worked another twelve hours."[3]

How little consideration was given to the miner's life, health or comfort may be deduced from the Commission's observations regarding *meal-time*: "Of all the coal-districts in Great Britain, there are only two in which any regular time is usually set apart for the rest and refreshment of the work-people during the day, and in which it is the general custom to observe the time so fixed strictly and uniformly." These districts were South Staffordshire and the Forest of Dean, the former of which held the distinction of being the only coal area in the Kingdom which provided places for the accommodation of work-people during meal hours. As a general rule, however, miners were allowed no free time whatever for meals; but were compelled to take refreshment in snatches without ever breaking off work. The Commissioners' conclusion on this point is explicit: "In the great majority of the coal districts of England, Scotland and Wales no regular time whatever is even nominally allowed for meals, but the people have to take what little food they eat during their long hours of labour when they best can snatch a moment to swallow it."[4]

With these conditions, then, prevailing; with material profits at so high a premium and human welfare at so high a discount, it is scarcely surprising that the Commission found the *health*

[1] *Mines*, 106.
[2] *Ibid.*, 180.
[3] Shaftesbury, *Mines and Collieries*, 20.
[4] *Mines*, 118.

and physical condition of colliers alarmingly bad. " The evidence collected in almost all the districts proves that too often the collier is a disabled man, with all the marks of old age upon him, when other men have scarcely passed beyond their prime." [1] One witness said: " That about forty the greater part of the colliers may be considered as disabled and regular old men. . . ." Dr. Allison gave it as his considered opinion that: " Between the twentieth and thirtieth year many colliers decline in bodily vigour, and become more and more spare," while ultimately they are deprived of life " by a slow and lingering process." Indeed, it was commonly said of certain classes of miners, particularly loaders, that they are " old men before they are young ones." " The want of proper ventilation," contended an old miner, " is the chief cause: the men die off like rotten sheep." One doctor said: " Most of the colliers at the age of thirty become asthmatic." But even among children signs of physical deterioration soon became obvious. Some youngsters had a touch of asthma at eight or nine years of age. " I am informed by competent authorities," said a Sub-Commissioner, " that six months labour in the mines is sufficient to effect a very visible change in the physical condition of the children; and indeed it is scarcely possible to conceive of circumstances more calculated to sow the seeds of future disease." [2] That these seeds brought forth a terrible harvest of death, there can be no doubt, for the Commission reported that: " Each generation of this class of the population is commonly extinct soon after fifty "; and they designated fifty-five to sixty as representing " extreme old age " among miners.

The ailments causing " premature old age and death " were numerous and varied. Asthma and rheumatism, produced chiefly by neglect of ventilation and drainage, were major complaints; but the list of other diseases was alarmingly long. Doctors pointed out that though the collier nearly always had abnormally developed muscles, this development was generally accompanied by stunted growth and a crippled gait. Then, too, irritation in the head, feet, back and skin were very frequent; as were also boils and running sores. But, in addition, doctors produced much evidence of heart, spine and lung diseases, of black spittle, loss of appetite, pain in the stomach, nausea, vomiting and inflammation of joints; while rupture, caused by overstraining, was extremely common.

[1] *Mines*, 191. [2] *Ibid.* 192

Compared with collieries, conditions in other mines, including ironstone, tin, copper, lead and zinc, might on the whole be described as tolerable. In these mines employment of women and girls underground was almost unknown, and no boys were found beneath the surface at the same early age as was the case in collieries. Nevertheless, in certain branches of work here also, thousands of children, young persons and women were subjected to most undesirable employment, with no consideration whatsoever to health, sanitation or moral welfare. The Commissioners, therefore, with admirable skill, and paying due attention to detail, presented a faithful picture of conditions prevailing in these mines also; and, as in the case of collieries, they did not fail to point the moral which abundant evidence revealed.[1]

The revelations of this First Report, published in May 1842, left statesmen gasping for breath. They were thunderstruck, and knew not which way to turn for apologies or explanations. Some legislators probably conceded the appointment of this Commission as a safety-valve for Shaftesbury's "fanaticism." But now, two years later, the tables were turned; and punctilious guardians of the *status quo*, who hated the very words "enthusiasm" and "reform," were caught in their own trap: for if these revelations did not bring the "privileged classes" to a due sense of repentance, they, in any event, shook the self-erected pedestals on which they stood, and made them for a time, at least, hide their heads in shame. Moreover, attempts by the Home Office to hold back the Report and suppress its sale proved futile; they only added to popular disgust.[2] National indignation had risen high and the day of reckoning was at hand.

[1] *Commissioners' Report on Mines* (1842), 195 ff., 259 f.
[2] Hodder, i. 418.

CHAPTER XVIII

A BILL OF EMANCIPATION

NATURALLY, Shaftesbury was more than pleased with the efficient and conscientious way in which the Mines Commissioners performed their duty; but he derived equal encouragement from the ethical response that their Report received throughout the country. The very shock which the nation was experiencing he believed pregnant with possibilities for better things ahead; and he was determined that this shock should not pass away without due effect. He therefore resolved to strike quickly while the iron was kindled to white heat. On May 7th, the Commissioners' Report was out; and before a week passed, Shaftesbury had given notice in Parliament of his intention to introduce a reforming Bill. His Diary, May 14th, reads: "The Government cannot, if they would, refuse the Bill of which I have given notice, to exclude females and children from the coal-pits—the feeling in my favour has become quite enthusiastic; the Press on all sides is working most vigorously. Wrote pointedly to thank the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* for his support, *which is most effective*." [1]

By unabated persistence Ashley secured from the Government May 26th as the day for introducing his Bill. But it was obvious that Peel had granted this concession under pressure and would not refuse a plausible excuse for obstruction. On May 21st Shaftesbury was politely requested to give place for a Government measure; but, scenting trouble, he held his ground. "Such a request," he explained, "came with a very bad grace from a Government which was hostile, not only to past measures of this kind, but, I really believed, to this one in particular.[2] I, of course, refused; postponement would be

[1] Hodder, i. 418.

[2] Ashley had given Peel strong support in the 1841 election; but his faith in that statesman was soon crushed. Peel's encouragement of the opium

total surrender."[1] But with the situation standing thus, the Prime Minister, himself a mine-owner, moved stealthily; and Ashley became exasperated. His Diary, May 23rd, makes no attempt to conceal his annoyance: "Peel, knowing my determination not to give way, advised Wynne this evening (Wynne told me so himself) to take Thursday for a *question of privilege*, thereby destroying me altogether. Never was there such treatment, such abominable trickery."[2] If, however, Peel calculated that the first enthusiasm created by the Commissioners' exposure had already passed its climax and would quickly die down, he was mistaken. On May 24th, Shaftesbury noted: "I hear that no such sensation has been caused since the first disclosures of the horrors of the slave-trade. God, go before us, as in Thy pillar of a cloud!"[3] The Government, however, continued obstinate; and, commenting on their attitude, Shaftesbury wrote: "No assistance, no sympathy—every obstacle in the way, though I doubt whether they will dare *openly to oppose* me on the Bill itself." This premonition was right. Peel was shifting for position; he hoped to hold up Ashley's Bill till the storm of popular indignation had subsided, and thus deprive him of wind for his sails; but he did not dare openly to oppose the measure.

May 26th, the date promised to Shaftesbury, was a day of supreme suspense to an overwrought man. Peel had assured him that the Government debate on that occasion would not take more than "two hours," and that ample time would be provided for his measure. But "this 'two hours' debate occupied from five till twelve o'clock!" So passed the promised date, and the reformer was not allowed to bring forth his Bill. Four days later, Ashley describes the occasion: "Never did I pass such an evening; expecting for six hours, without food or drink, to be called on at any moment—very unwell in consequence, and have been, in fact, ever since."[4] Peel, however, made some amends; he definitely promised Ashley his opportunity five days later, May 31st. But again disappointment overshadowed Shaftesbury's course; though this time Peel and his Government were free from blame, for they were quite as deeply affected as Ashley. During these intervening days two

traffic was one cause of Ashley's disillusionment (see Chapter XX). Moreover, already he had indication of Peel's resistance to Health and Factory reforms (Hodder, i. 404–6).

[1] Hodder, i. 419. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*, i. 420.

attempts were made on the life of Queen Victoria, and in consequence Parliament was temporarily adjourned. But this adjournment, in turn, held up the concluding stages of Peel's Income Tax Bill;[1] and Ashley, knowing the Premier's "great anxiety" to finish that business, generously wrote him offering to forgo his right to the promised date, in exchange for a fixed day in the near future. Peel wrote a "grateful acceptance," and definitely gave Ashley June 7th for introducing his Bill.

As matters turned out, Shaftesbury's concession to the Government proved a wise move, for when, on June 7th, he stood before the House, the excitement over the attempted assassination had somewhat died down; and the Government's consciousness of his generous withdrawal on their behalf probably helped to disarm opposition and create a more receptive atmosphere. In any event, however the fact may be explained, Shaftesbury's long speech on this occasion proved the most effective Parliamentary utterance of his whole career; for not only was all opposition hushed, but many old Parliamentarians, including some of his bitterest critics, frankly admitted that never before had they been so deeply moved. Indeed, it was obvious from the moment Shaftesbury sat down, after two hours' impassioned appeal, that an historic victory had already been more than half won. The immediate effects of this address can, however, be best gleaned from Shaftesbury's Diary:

"*June 9th.*—Oh that I had the tongue of an angel to express what I ought to feel! God grant that I many never forget it, for I cannot record it. On the 7th, brought forward my motion,[2]—the success has been *wonderful*, yes, really wonderful—for two hours the House listened so attentively that you might have heard a pin drop, broken only by loud and repeated marks of approbation—at the close a dozen members at least followed in succession to give me praise, and express their sense of the holy cause. . . . As I stood at the table, and just before I opened my mouth, the words of God came forcibly to my mind, 'Only be strong and of a good courage'—praised be His Holy Name, I was as easy from that moment as though I had been sitting in an arm-chair. Many men, I hear, shed tears. . . . Sir G. Grey told William Cowper that he 'would rather have made that speech than any he ever heard.' Even Joseph Hume

[1] Next to the Repeal of the Corn Laws, Peel's Income Tax was the most daring of his reforms.

[2] *Times* and *Chronicle*, June 8, 1842.

was touched;[1] Members took me aside and spoke in a *very serious tone* of thanks and admiration. I must and will sing an everlasting '*non nobis*'—Grant, oh blessed God, that I may not be exalted above measure, but that I may ever creep close to the ground, knowing and joyfully confessing that I am Thy servant, that without Thee I am nothing worth, and that from Thee alone cometh all counsel, wisdom and understanding for the sake of our most dear and only Saviour, God manifest in the flesh, our Lord Jesus Christ! It has given me hopes for the Empire, hopes for its permanence, hopes for its service in the purposes of the Messiah. God prosper the issue!" . . .[2]

Concerning the context of this historic speech little need be said. The material was drawn almost wholly from the Commissioners' Report; yet the speech was much more than a synopsis of that bulky document. It was, in truth, a noble oration, in which a skilful arrangement of facts was lighted up by all the eloquence and power of an impassioned, prophetic spirit, yearning to unburden itself of a soul-stirring truth. Reviewing the Report, Shaftesbury exclaimed: "Sir, it is not possible for any man, whatever be his station, if he have but a heart within his bosom, to read the details of this awful document without a combined feeling of shame, terror and indignation."[3] But as the protagonist of the disinherited proceeded, none of the outstanding evils which the Commission had brought to light was left outside his scope. He painted the ghastly picture with a restrained hand; nevertheless lurid colours were made to stand out with unforgettable prominence; and as he proceeded to details, every aspect of the subject was given its proportionate place. The lamentable condition of little "apprentices," in particular, he burned into the very conscience of the House. The case of a small boy, Edmund Kershaw, he used to illustrate the length to which this mercenary torture of childhood was carried. This boy was apprenticed to a collier near Rooley-Moor; and Dr. Milner, who examined him, "found on his body from twenty-four to twenty-six wounds. His back and loins were beaten to a jelly; his head, which was almost cleared of hair on the scalp, had the marks of many old wounds. . . . One of the bones in one arm was broken below the elbow,

[1] Hume, a leader of the James Mill and Bentham school, was a relentless opponent of all factory legislation.

[2] Hodder, i. 421 f.

[3] H. of C., June 7, 1842, 4.

and seemed to have been so for some time. The boy, on being brought before the magistrate, was unable to sit or stand, and was placed on the floor in the office. It appeared that the boy's arm had been broken by a blow with an iron rail, and the fracture had never been set, and that he had been kept at work for several weeks with his arm in that condition. It was admitted by the master that he had been in the habit of beating the boy with a flat piece of wood, in which a nail was driven, and projected about half-an-inch. . . . The boy had been starved for want of food, and his body presented all the marks of emaciation. This brutal master had kept him at work as a wagoner [1] until he was no longer of any use, and then sent him home in a cart to his mother, who was a poor widow residing at Rochdale." [2]

Shaftesbury's comment, after quoting this extreme instance of barbarism, is noteworthy: "Well might all the charter-masters in Shropshire speak of the system with horror, and say it was as bad as the African slave-trade.[3] For my part I think it is quite as bad, if not worse; for, at any rate, slaves have the advantage of working in the light of the open day. . . ." But Ashley, in this connection, drew another, and more powerful, comparison. He had recently visited Pentonville prison, and was amazed at the efforts there put forward to secure "a proper degree of comfort for the prisoner." With all this work of mercy toward criminals he entirely agreed: "But," he quickly added, "here you have a number of poor children, whose only crime is that they are poor, and who are sent down to these horrid dens,[4] subjected to every privation, and every variety of brutal treatment, and on whom you inflict even a worse curse than this—the curse of dark and perpetual ignorance. Ignorant such people must be; for, from the time you take them down the shaft of the pit, not one hour have they of their own to learn their duty either to their fellow-men or their Almighty Maker." A moment later he inquired: "Where is the right to inflict a servitude like this? Is orphanage a crime?" Then, with

[1] A "hurrier" was sometimes called a "wagoner."

[2] Shaftesbury, *Mines and Collieries*, 47–8.

[3] No one can estimate the impetus which the Abolition of the Slave Trade gave to industrial reform. Shaftesbury's speeches contain scores of references to the horrors of the factory system, as *slavery*; while in the case of such Evangelical reformers as Wood, Oastler, Stephens and Sadler, the phraseology of emancipation was continually on their lips.

[4] When Shaftesbury used such language he was not chattering second-hand phrases; for he himself had been down the mines and had a graphic mental picture of conditions.

prophetic vehemence, he demanded: "Let apprenticeship be abolished on the spot; let every existing indenture be cancelled. Undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free." [1]

Although Shaftesbury says he was as much at ease in delivering this speech as though he "had been sitting in an arm-chair," yet, approaching the conclusion, his soul seemed to take to itself wings, and he expressed with vehement emotion the principles on which he based his appeal:—"No employments that are necessary to mankind are deadly to man but by man's own fault: when we go beyond and enter on the path of luxury and sensual gratification, then begins the long and grim catalogue of pestilential occupations. . . . I had long observed the enormous toil of a large proportion of the community and the total disemployment of the other—physically injurious to the one, and morally injurious to both.[2] I thought I had the right to interpose in behalf of children and young persons, to redress the balance, and to avert the mischief by shortening the hours of labour and by that means to call into action those who were unemployed, and to afford some relief to those who were already overworked. . . . I have never attempted to legislate for adults, or to interpose between master and man in the matter of wages. I have laboured to bring them within the reach of moral and religious education, knowing full well that they are the seeds of future generations of citizens; and that . . . there can be neither safety nor hope but in becoming, under God's blessing, a wise and an understanding people." [3]

"I do not fear," continued Ashley, "any violent or general outbreaks on the part of the population. . . . But I do fear the progress of a cancer, a perilous, and, if we much longer delay, an incurable cancer, which has seized upon the body social, moral and political; and then in some day, when there shall be required on the part of our people an unusual energy, an unprecedented effort of virtue and patriotism, the strength of the Empire shall be found prostrate, for the fatal disorder will have reached its vitals." Next, paying high tribute to the fortitude of British workmen, Shaftesbury reminded the Legislature that "it is mockery to talk of education to people who

[1] *Mines and Collieries*, 50.

[2] Although Shaftesbury was suspicious of *political* democracy, such phrases as these make it plain that he was an ardent advocate of the democracy of labour—a fact often overlooked by modern critics.

[3] *Mines and Collieries*, 52.

are engaged, as it were, in unceasing toil from their cradle to their grave." The intolerable burden of industrial avarice, he demanded, must be lifted : " The sufferings of these people, so destructive to themselves, are altogether needless to the prosperity of the Empire " ; but proceeding, he forced his indictment on the very conscience of the Commons : " Could it be proved that they were necessary, this House, I know, would pause before it undertook to affirm the continuance of them. What would induce you to tolerate further the existence of such cruelties ? " Finally, exhibiting a further instance of savagery towards women, the workers' champion exclaimed : " Is it not enough to announce these things to an assembly of Christian men and British gentlemen ? For twenty millions of money you purchased the liberation of the negro ; and it was a blessed deed. You may, this night, by a cheap and harmless vote, invigorate the hearts of thousands of your country-people, enable them to walk erect in newness of life, to enter on the enjoyment of their inherited freedom, and avail themselves (if they will accept them) of the opportunities of virtue, of morality and religion. These, Sir, are the ends I venture to propose : this is the barbarism [1] that I seek to restore."

The concluding sentence of this historic speech [2] was a Biblical exhortation—" to break off our sins by righteousness and our iniquities by showing mercy to the poor." [3]

One of Shaftesbury's conquests on this occasion was the conversion of Cobden. Immediately after the debate that gentleman crossed the House, and wringing Ashley by the hand, exclaimed : " You know how opposed I have been to your views ; but I don't think I have ever been put into such a state of mind, in the whole course of my life, as I have been by your speech." [4] Of the enduring character of this change, John Morley, Cobden's biographer, provides telling evidence ; for, emphasizing the Free Trader's early suspicions of Shaftesbury and his reforms, Morley points out that " since he (Cobden) had an opportunity of a closer observation of the noble Lord,

[1] One gentleman had objected that Shaftesbury's interference with industry could only end in a reversion to barbarism.

[2] It is unfortunate that the excellent series, *Crowned Masterpieces of Eloquence*, representing the " Advance of Civilization " (published by International University Society, 1919), contains not a single speech by Britain's greatest social reformer.

[3] *Mines and Collieries*, 58.

[4] Hodder, i. 425.

he was perfectly convinced of his genuine philanthropy."[1] Even Graham was moved, for he admited that he "had never listened to any statement more clearly convincing in itself"; and he promised "that Her Majesty's Government would render him (Ashley) every assistance in carrying on the measure."[2] All opposition, in truth, was hushed; the House seemed spell-bound; and until the Bill came up for third reading not a challenging vote was cast.[3]

Yet what were the demands of this Bill before which the Commons bowed in silent awe? We recall the words of the standard historians of British Factory Legislation, that the Mines and Collieries Act was "perhaps the most high-handed interference with industry enacted by the State in the nineteenth century."[4] Nevertheless, the demands to which the Commons now acceded were substantially stronger than those which the Lords permitted to reach the Statute Books. Ashley had presented to the Commons a gruesome spectacle; and he laid it down as a categorical imperative that the nation could not retain its self-respect if it offered half-measures as a cure for this putrid sore. He therefore demanded sweeping reforms, which attacked the disease at its roots. His Bill called for unconditional withdrawal of all female labour from mines; it stipulated the minimum age for employing boys as thirteen, and called for release of all under that age within three months; it demanded complete abolition of the system of "apprenticing" pauper children, and the breaking of all indentures;[5] it made it illegal for any person under twenty-one or over fifty to serve as engineman, or to be placed in charge of a windlass, gin, or any other contrivance, where human life was at stake.[6] But having laid down these prohibitions, the Bill took positive steps to secure

[1] Personal association also brought about a marked change in the attitude of Henry Edward Fox, who in a note as early as 1820, referring to Ashley, says: "From having a dislike that almost amounted to hatred, I have grown insensibly to admire and like him" (Fox's *Journal* (1923), 35).

[2] Hansard, June 7, 1842, 135–7–9.

[3] *Morning Chronicle*, June 8, 9 and 10, 1842 (reports and editorials). In his article for June 9, referring to Ashley's speech, the editor says: "There were no sickly sentimentalities, useless criminations, or philanthropical claptraps. . . . In the name of humanity we say, 'Blessings on the man by whom this was done, and done so well.'" Hansard, June 7th. Representatives of the coal-owners as well as Hume, Graham and Brotherton spoke after Ashley. All bestowed praise upon his handling of the subject.

[4] Hutchins and Harrison, 82.

[5] Some of these victims were bound from eight or nine years of age till twenty-one; yet they themselves drew no pay at all.

[6] *Bills Public*, 1842, iii. 5 Vict. 7, June, 275 ff. (Brit. Mus. paging).

their enforcement. It stipulated that they should apply to all mines and collieries whatsoever, throughout the United Kingdom, with any workings underground; it declared that an abstract of the provisions must be clearly painted on a board and set up within twenty feet of the principal entrance; it provided that agents, as well as owners, might be held responsible for violations of the law; and it fixed the range of fines as high as £50, stipulating that in each instance of successful prosecution the informer should receive half the fine.[1]

Very wisely Shaftesbury made no attempt, in this connection, to dictate the hours of labour. From the beginning of his Ten Hours fight (1833) he had made it a fixed principle, to which the workers conceded, that he would demand protection only for women, children and young persons, and that safeguarding of adult males must be sought only indirectly, as a by-product. But, in this case, the provisions of his Bill were so sweeping that all women and children without exception, and all *female* young persons, were to be released from the mines. Therefore, if he had quibbled about hours, he could consistently have fought only for *male* young persons, and any attempt to interfere with their hours was certain to have involved all full-grown men; for the two worked together in intimate co-operation. Shaftesbury, however, was astute enough to recognize this fact, and consequently he made no attempt to overreach himself. He was too wise to pursue the impossible; and besides, he knew that if he succeeded in carrying his demands an improvement in men's hours must follow as a matter of course.[2]

But before the Bill entered upon its third reading signs of opposition were apparent. Following Ashley's speech, the only hint of disapprobation came from Mr. Lambton, a mine-owner; and even that hint was clothed in praise. However, for all his flattery, Lambton twice implored the Commons to proceed cautiously; for such legislation, he insisted, must necessarily affect "immense interests."[3] And now, a fortnight later, these immense interests were asserting themselves. On June 23rd Mr. Ainsworth gave notice of a motion "to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, *to see whether it would not abate the wages of the working classes*";[4] and about the same time it became

[1] *Bills Public*, 1842, iii. 278.

[2] Mr. and Mrs. Hammond (*op. cit.*, 80) suggest the failure to restrict hours as a weakness of the Bill. This surely is splitting hairs.

[3] H. of C., June 7, 1842.

[4] Hodder, i. 427 (italics inserted).

obvious that the Government, in spite of Graham's promise, would render Ashley no assistance. Palmerston consequently "taunted Ministers with not having given that cordial support which Sir James Graham had promised," and suggested that they were in the hands of "a power greater than their own, which exercised a sort of coercion over them."

Shaftesbury's anxiety at this juncture was great; but it was counterbalanced by no mean encouragement. On June 23rd, he received this message from the Prince Consort:

MY DEAR LORD ASHLEY,—I have carefully perused your speech, . . . and I have been highly gratified by your efforts, as well as horror-stricken by the statements which you have brought before the country. I know you do not want praise, and I therefore withhold it, but God's best blessing will rest with you and support you in your arduous but glorious task. It is with real gratification I see in the papers the progress which you made last night.[1] I have no doubt but that the whole country must be with you—at all events I can assure you that the Queen is, whom your statements have filled with the deepest sympathy.

It would give me much pleasure to see you any day that you would call on me, at twelve o'clock, and to converse with you on the subject.

Believe me, with my best wishes for your *total* success,

Ever yours truly,

ALBERT.[2]

Two days later Shaftesbury called on Prince Albert. His comment on the interview is brief but suggestive: "Found him hearty, kind, sensible, zealous. He is an admirable man!"[3]

On June 25th, at 2 a.m., despite Ainsworth's opposition, Ashley forced his Bill "through the Report." But his Diary significantly adds: "There may be difficulty on the Third Reading." This apprehension proved well founded, for on July 1st, when the Bill came up for final reading, two divisions took place on the "*adjournment of the debate*"; and Gladstone[4] supported Ainsworth in this subterfuge. Shaftesbury describes the situation thus: "Peel and Graham voted with me on the first (division), but went away on the second. *Neither of them said a word in my favour.* Gladstone voted against me, and

[1] Ashley had "pushed the Bill through Committee."

[2] Hodder, i. 426–8.

[3] *Ibid.*, 428.

[4] Gladstone at this period was an uncompromising Tory and an ardent admirer of Peel, under whom he was Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint. In 1839 Macaulay described Gladstone as 'the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories."

Sir Edward Knatchbull; Graham, the evening before, had changed his tone, and began to express his doubts to Jocelyn. Here again is 'cordial support!' The Government will *openly* desert me in the House of Lords. Wharncliffe attempted to break his engagement, by desiring me to postpone all parts of the Bill *except that which related to females*.[1] I positively refused."

Ashley's case, however, proved too strong for obstructionist tactics. True, in the final debate, Ainsworth continued his dirge that if the Bill passed, "hundreds of children would be thrown out of employment, and hundreds of families would be driven to the workhouses." Also, "as a county magistrate," this good gentleman solemnly warned the House that "he would not be responsible for the public peace if the Bill were carried into effect in its present shape." But this timorous magistrate found one consolation. "He fervently rejoiced that there was another House"; and, hearing good-natured laughter at this juncture, he repeated: "He was glad that the Bill of the noble Lord was to be considered in another House." This statement was ominous of trouble ahead. Stansfield, following in Ainsworth's vein, declared that "if they were to go on in this way, every class would soon have its enactment. Milliners and pinmakers would be protected, as it was called, and little children employed in hemming and stitching, or in putting heads on pins, would only be allowed to work on alternate days."[2] In spite, however, of these familiar fears, Ashley carried the division by an overwhelming majority; and about nine o'clock, July 5th, the Bill passed triumphantly to the Lords. "God be everlastingly praised," wrote Shaftesbury next day, "received amidst cheers, the fiat that 'Lord Ashley do carry the Bill to the Lords.'" This seemed like overwhelming success; but, in spite of his rejoicing, Shaftesbury knew that the real struggle lay ahead. Ainsworth's suggestion, though provoking laughter in the Commons, was no idle threat; already mining interests were marshalling forces for a concentrated assault in the hereditary Chamber: and the frigid attitude of the Government scarcely reflects credit upon the Prime Minister, who had large investments in the mines. Palmerston, accordingly, noting the Ministry's sullen mood, threw out the biting challenge "that if

[1] Mr. Stansfield, supporting Ainsworth's motion, claimed that if the Bill's restrictive clauses were put into operation, the coal trade would be annihilated (Hansard, July 1, 1842).

[2] Hansard, July 5, 1842.

they were sincere (and they would soon be tested), the Bill must pass the House of Lords." [1]

What, then, was the condition of this Bill as it left the Commons for the Lords? Only two modifications of significance had been effected. One was an additional safeguard, facilitating enforcement; the other was a concession, granted to appease the coal barons' opposition. When the Bill was in Committee, Ashley's provisions for enforcement were augmented by a highly important decision, commissioning the Home Secretary to establish a system of inspection; and this safeguard represented a pronounced gain. On the other hand, the concession was not sufficient greatly to handicap the Bill. From the first, many supporters thought that Ashley's exclusion from the mines of all boys under thirteen was going too far; and, after the first wave of emotion had receded, suggestions were made that the age of ten should be substituted for thirteen. The author of the Bill, however, held his ground. But finally, when John Buddle, Lord Londonderry's agent, came, as representative of Northern coal-owners, to treat with Ashley, it was arranged in conference "that the age of admission to the mines should be fixed at ten instead of thirteen, with the stipulation that *boys under thirteen should only work every other day*," [2] thus allowing four days a week, including Sunday, for mental and moral development. Consequently, Shaftesbury's concession was in the nature of an honourable agreement, binding the Northern coal-owners to support his Bill; [3] and Lambton, though timorous of any interference with mining "interests," was honest enough to admit the binding nature of this agreement, for in a letter to Ashley he said: "I had no doubt in my own mind after this conference, that all present were bound to support the Bill so altered." [4] But Londonderry was not so conscientious. He was dissatisfied with the concession his own agent had procured, and when the Bill came up to the Lords, throwing aside all reserve, he fought, tooth and claw, against every provision which the Commons, by overwhelming majority, had endorsed.[5]

[1] Hodder, i. 429; Hansard, July 5, 1842.

[2] Hammond, 76 (italics inserted).

[3] Londonderry denied the binding character of this agreement, though he could not deny that Buddle had been dispatched to London as representative of Northern coal-owners, to treat with Ashley (H. of L., July 12th).

[4] H. of C., Aug. 6, 1842; Marquess of Clanricarde, H. of L., July 14th.

[5] As early as June 24th, Londonderry began kindling opposition in the Lords (Hansard for that date).

To follow, in detail, the rough treatment this Bill received in the Lords would lead us far afield. Certain incidents, nevertheless, demand attention. In the Commons, few ventured to offer more than covert opposition; but so different was the atmosphere in the Lords that Ashley experienced great difficulty in finding anyone who would sponsor the measure. For two weeks he tried in vain; and it was only after encountering a dozen or more refusals that finally he procured the efforts of Lord Devon, who deplored "the indifference of the Peers to such a measure."[1] "Never did one body present such a contrast to another," wrote Ashley, "as the House of Lords and the House of Commons—the question seemed to have no friends; even those who said a sentence or two in its favour, spoke coldly and with measure." In Wellington, Shaftesbury was specially disappointed. Ten days before the Bill reached the Lords, the Duke, in conversation with Ashley at Buckingham Palace, promised hearty support. But now, instead of rendering support, he came out in open opposition and "spoke with contempt and suspicion of the Commissioners."[2] This desertion probably had not a little to do with Shaftesbury's changed estimate of the Iron Duke. As a very young man Ashley looked upon Wellington as one of his chiefest heroes: in maturer years he described him as "a hard man."[3]

Nominally Lord Hatherton directed the Peers' opposition, but his leadership was a mask: from beginning to end Lord Londonderry, the coal magnate, occupied the centre of the stage; and from this point of vantage he violently attacked the measure on every score. The Commissioners were untrustworthy; their Report was sensational and exaggerated; many of the witnesses were "artful boys and ignorant young girls"; while as for the drawings, they were "extravagant and disgusting, and in some cases of a scandalous and obscene character."[4] Ashley's Bill, likewise, was unreasonable. Employment of boys on alternate days was impracticable; the age limit was absurdly high; having inspectors underground was "very objectionable,"

[1] The Duke of Buccleuch had previously agreed to take charge of the Bill, but the Government placing pressure upon him, he withdrew.

[2] Hodder, i. 430.

[3] By 1840 we have signs of Ashley's disillusionment regarding Wellington (Hodder, i. 300).

[4] H. of L., June 24, 1842. Though Londonderry was indignant about the pictures, he unblushingly defended the actual conditions from which they were drawn.

and the penalties prescribed for violations were altogether "too high."[1] Indeed, to the noble Lord *everything* was wrong. The Bill was a sensational attack on a key industry, and public welfare demanded that such levity be nipped in the bud, before it bred national disaster. At eight years of age, Londonderry contended, boys were quite fit for certain branches of colliery labour, and after ten they "do not acquire those habits which are particularly necessary to enable them to perform their work in the mines." As for education, this magnate deplored all the fuss made about it, and assured the Peers that for miners' children "a practical education in the collieries" was "superior" to a "reading education."[2] But, in the heat of his anger, Londonderry went a point further; and for this stupidity Devon brought him to book. "Some seams of coal," Londonderry argued, "require the employment of women."[3]

From these onslaughts we glean some idea of the atmosphere to which the Bill was subjected in the Second Chamber.[4] Devon defended it with energy; but he had little support. True, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London presented petitions urging the passage of the Bill as it left the Commons, but neither showed any enthusiasm for its success; while, on the other hand, some mining magnates were now fighting with the fury of wild beasts defending their lairs. Continually emphasizing that a capital of £10,300,000 was invested in the mines of Durham and Northumberland alone,[5] these interested critics maintained that if the Bill passed, the whole mining industry was doomed.

Naturally, at this stage, Ashley was much perturbed. The previous year, when Peel's Government came into power, he rendered no small contribution to their victory in industrial constituencies. Now, however, with Londonderry determined on wrecking the Bill, this same Government, which a few weeks before promised "cordial support," was declaring itself "quite passive."[6] Shaftesbury's Diary gives full vent to his exasperation;

[1] H. of L., July 12, 1842. [2] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1842.

[3] *Ibid.*, July 14th; *ibid.*, July 12th and Aug. 1st; H. of C., Aug. 6. Some pits, Londonderry contended, could not pay men's wages; they must employ women or close down.

[4] In spite of its promises, the Government now declared that it would "be quite passive; it would give no support to the Bill" (Diary, July 13, 1842; Lord Wharncliffe's speech, July 12th).

[5] Hansard, June 24, 1842.

[6] Although, from the beginning, Shaftesbury was very independent and could scarcely be considered a party man, nevertheless up till about this time

but, also, it expresses his faith in *public opinion*, the education of which, along ethical lines, was the primary purpose of his life. "Now I am impotent," he wrote on July 13th; "nothing remains (humanly speaking) but public opinion—were it not for this I should not be able to carry *one* particle of the Bill; but something, please God, I shall attain through that His instrument; yet a very small portion of what I desired. It is impossible to keep faith with this Ministry, their promises are worth nothing."[1]

Shaftesbury's prediction proved correct. Londonderry was determined to kill the Bill, but "*public opinion*" prevented such harsh treatment. The day after Shaftesbury's outburst, quoted above, Lord Devon carried the Second Reading; but so great were his concessions that the measure shrivelled into little more than a shadow of its original self.[2] Nevertheless, in spite of this compulsory process of toning and whittling, a very substantial "something" still remained; for it was this residue which we have seen described by eminent authorities as "perhaps the most high-handed interference with industry enacted by the State in the nineteenth century." Shaftesbury's Parliamentary Debates are, for the most part, marked by a note of studied moderation. But his ecstatic spirit is allowed free rein in the pages of his Diary. Thus, on July 26th, the day after the Bill passed through Committee, describing the procedure of the Lords, he wrote: "Never have I seen such a display of selfishness, frigidity to every human sentiment, such ready and happy self-delusion. Three bishops only present, Chichester (Gilbert), Norwich (Stanley), Gloucester (Monk), who came late, but intended well. The Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury went away! It is my lot, should I, by God's Grace, live so long, to be hereafter among them; but may He avert the day on which my means of utility in public life should be for ever concluded! . . ."[3]

he looked upon himself as a Conservative. From now on, however, he increasingly lost faith in party politics and contended that the practical application of Christian principles was the only sure foundation of national progress. More than once, however, he claimed that he had received more help from Whigs and Radicals than from Conservatives.

[1] Hodder, i. 430. Such statements, expressing faith in *public opinion*, occur frequently in Shaftesbury's utterances, and are hard to reconcile with the oft-reiterated verdict that he was a blue-blooded aristocrat with no faith in Democratic developments; for surely public opinion is the corner-stone of Democracy. Shaftesbury, however, believed that public opinion must be guided along ethical and religious lines, and that education should precede the ballot.

[2] Hansard, July 14, 1842.

[3] Hodder, i. 431.

On August 1, 1842, this much-amended Bill came up for final reading in the Lords, and Londonderry now took his parting shot. In comparison with its original context, the Bill, he admitted, was little more than a " blank sheet " ; but, even in its amputated form, it was a dangerous and arbitrary measure, which should be thrown out. The idea of inspection especially infuriated him ; and " as a coal-owner," he declared that he would say to inspectors : " You may go down the pit how you can, and when you are down, you may remain there." The Bill could not compel owners to provide facilities for inspection, and " he, for one, should not afford any." [1] But in spite of this rabid opposition, the Lords were too cautious to throw the measure out : they knew that Ashley and the Commissioners had created a tremendous volume of public opinion ; and that public opinion they dared not trample under foot.

This " blank sheet," however, which the Lords returned to the Commons, was by no means a *tabula erasa*. To *all* women and girls, independent of age, and to all boys under ten, it brought complete emancipation ; for even this much-amended Bill made it illegal for any such person to be employed underground in any mine or colliery of the Kingdom.[2] The measure also established inspection, though it somewhat restricted its scope ; [3] it made it illegal for any boy under fifteen to be placed in charge of an engine, windlass or gin where human life was in danger ; it prohibited the atrocious custom of paying wages in public-houses, for not only did the Act declare such payments null and void, but it made the culprit liable to a fine of £10 and not less than £5 ; [4] and though it did not abolish the system

[1] H. of L., Aug. 1, 1842. The Bill as passed, however, stated that mine-owners were " required to furnish the necessary means " for inspection (5 and 6 Vict., cap. 99, 1162).

[2] The expulsion of women from pits for a time caused some hardship, especially in East Scotland.

[3] The Lords so amended inspectors' powers that they were to report only on the condition of persons working in mines, and not on mines themselves. Such casuistry, however, could not long be maintained, and in 1850 not only was this defect righted, but mine-owners were forced to submit plans of their workings (Hammond, 83 ; 5 and 6 Vict., cap. 99). Disraeli, acting as cat's paw for Londonderry, opposed this reform. Indeed, Disraeli's whole attitude toward industrial reform is inconsistent. In 1845 he published his famous social novel *Sybil*. Yet never once did he speak in the factory debates till 1850, and that year he opposed the amendment to the Mines Act with one breath, while with another he advocated the full rights of the Ten Hours Bill. Party expediency and Parliamentary ambition seem to have controlled his conduct.

[4] *Reports of Commissioners* (2), 1843, xiii. 43–54, for accounts of prostitution, gambling, drunkenness, etc., associated with this custom of paying miners' wages in public-houses.

of parish apprentices for boys as it did for girls, nevertheless it reduced the age to which they could be bound over from twenty-one to eighteen, and made it illegal to employ them before they were ten years old. On the other hand, the great blow which the Amendments enacted was the breaking of the agreement between Ashley and Buddle. Ashley had only conceded the employment, on alternate days, of boys ten to thirteen, with the decided understanding that, for this concession, coal-owners were pledged to support his Bill: but the Lords threw out all mention of alternate days, thus reducing the original age limit of thirteen to ten, without offering anything whatsoever by way of apology for this breach of faith. Then, too, even the modified continuance of the "apprentice" system was a severe rebuff to Ashley's hopes. Yet, in spite of drastic amputations, can it be denied that this Bill marks a *revolutionary* advance in industrial progress?

On August 6th, the Commons took "into consideration the amendments of the Lords to the Bill." And, in this debate, Ashley proved beyond doubt that the Peers' conduct had been unduly harsh. Certain mining interests, he protested, had misrepresented the facts. Not a few coal-owners, in truth, favoured the original and undiluted strength of the Bill; while, as for the scrapping of the agreement into which he had entered with Buddle and other representatives of the great coal-barons, Ashley proved by letters from one of those very gentlemen [1] that disregard for this agreement was simply a breach of faith. Nevertheless, as "he could not help himself," Ashley accepted the amendments, and invited the Commons "to accede to the Bill, which, at all events, went to establish a great and valuable principle." Palmerston, following, again reproached the Government for withholding that "cordial support" which they had first promised; and to this taunt both Graham and Peel made stilted replies. Graham contended that the Government had been sympathetic, and that the Bill, even as it left the Lords, marked a radical departure from precedent. Moreover, he thought the amendments were "fair, reasonable and just modifications." [2] Peel adopted similar tactics, defending the Lords' right to make whatever alterations they saw fit. But "with regard to some of the amendments, he would admit that he was sorry they had been adopted, and should experience show

[1] Mr. Lambton.

[2] H. of C., Aug. 6th.

the necessity of further alterations, he would be quite ready to lend them his support."

Thus concluded the debates on a subject which for weeks had kindled popular imagination and created propaganda that shook the very foundations of *laissez-faire* complacency. On August 10, 1842, there was written on the Statute Books an "Act to prohibit the Employment of Women and Girls in the Mines and Collieries, to regulate the employment of Boys, and to make other Provisions relating to Persons working therein." [1] An awakened social conscience had demanded this reform; yet the Act crystallized into legislation only the barest minimum for which public opinion called. This fact, however, should be remembered: without Shaftesbury's sensitive conscience he would have been impelled to no enthusiasm for reform, and without this enthusiasm no Commission of investigation would have been appointed; [2] but without a Commission, the facts of the case could never have been widely circulated; without the facts, there could have been established no public opinion; while without the pressure of public opinion, a lethargic Government would have passed no reforming Act, which struck at the roots of its self-interest.

Within three months of the publication of the *Commissioners' Report*, the Mines and Collieries victory was won; and Shaftesbury's Diary reflects great joy: "*August 8th.*—Took the Sacrament on Sunday in joyful and humble thankfulness to Almighty God, for the undeserved measure of success with which He has blessed my effort for the glory of His name, and the welfare of His creatures. Oh that 'it may be the beginning of good to all mankind!' . . ." [3]

[1] 5 and 6 Vict., cap. xcix. 1161 ff.

[2] From the first Graham looked askance upon the appointment of this Commission (C. S. Parker's *Life of Peel*, ii. 548).

[3] Hodder, i. 431.

CHAPTER XIX

OTHER INDUSTRIAL VICTORIES

HIS long-protracted struggle for the Ten Hours Bill, and his emancipation of little white slaves from the mines, will ever stand out as the noblest monuments to Shaftesbury's industrial endeavour. But it is only the towering magnificence of these memorials, that overshadows the greatness of certain co-related achievements, now challenging attention. The briefest survey, therefore, of Shaftesbury's secondary industrial victories is the task of this chapter.

1. Calico-printing Works.

The Second Report of the Children's Employment Commission, instigated by Ashley in 1840, dealt with "Trades and Manufactures." This Report, published in 1843, gave evidence of the same careful investigation that characterized the Mines and Collieries inquiry of the preceding year. But, unfortunately, it met with no such response as greeted the publication of that treatise. The newspapers, which did so much to marshal opinion in the case of mines, were now silent. The new document fell from the press still-born. Indeed, Hutchins and Harrison say: "Scarcely anything in the whole history of the Factory Acts is more disappointing than the coldness and apathy with which the Report on the Employment of Children in Manufactures was received."[1] Shaftesbury's Diary reflects keen disappointment at this inertia. For considerable time he awaited favourable opportunity to press his cause; but, none presenting itself, finally, in spite of public apathy and Ministerial frigidity, he determined to launch his attack. The worst conditions exposed by the new Report were those in calico-printing works and allied industries, bleaching, dyeing and calendaring.

[1] *History of Factory Legislation*, 129

Shaftesbury, therefore, set about to espouse the cause of women and children in these trades.

For weeks prior to the introduction of his Bill, Ashley brooded over this cause. Several times he refers tenderly to "my children in the Print-works," and his Diary, Feb. 7, 1845, re-echoes the same strain: "Shall I deliver my children in the Print-works? God be with me!"[1] On February 18th, in a speech vibrant with emotion, he pleaded the case of these hapless innocents and introduced a Bill remedying the evils under which they groaned.[2] The matter of this speech was almost confined to data from the Commissioners' Second Report; but Shaftesbury's handling of the subject made it anything but dry or statistical. The vehemence of his conviction caused his words to leap forth as a flame, and, when he reached his peroration, it seemed that an army of pinched children had themselves appeared to plead their cause.

The Commissioners proved that some children in calico-print works began labour at three or four years of age; frequently their employment commenced between seven and eight, while between eight and nine the great majority were thoroughly in harness.[3] As for conditions of employment, different institutions varied greatly: "Some proprietors spare neither trouble nor expense to secure proper ventilation, temperature and drainage." On the other hand, "in great numbers of cases," the "conditions of the place of work" were "deplorably neglected."[4] Frequently children were found toiling in a temperature ranging from 80 to 100 degrees; sometimes they worked in rooms registering 110 degrees—fever heat; and instances were found where they laboured in a sickly atmosphere heated to 115 and even 120 degrees. The effect of such conditions on health, particularly when dust and chemicals floated in the air, was disastrous. In one room "all the children" were "more or less affected with inflammation and copious discharge of the eyes." But the evils of the system become even more pronounced as we consider the hours of labour prevalent at certain seasons, when rush orders were filled:—"It is by no means uncommon in *all* the districts for children of from five to six

[1] Commissioners reported 25,000 children employed in these trades.

[2] 1844 was the most overwrought year in Shaftesbury's career. Hence the delay in introducing this Bill.

[3] See Commissioners' analysis of age of 565 children taken at random ("Trades and Manufactures," *Parl. Papers*, 1843, xiii. 12).

[4] *Parl. Papers*, 1843 xiii, "Trades and Manufactures," 37

years old to be kept at work for fourteen and even sixteen hours consecutively." [1] Indeed, girls were found working at steam cans for thirty-eight hours in succession. Margaret Isherwood, aged eight, said that " before she was six and a half years old, she had worked all night three or four nights a week." Henry Hughes, nearly nine, said: " I have worked all night many a time. I have worked all day and all night too without stopping except for meals." [2] Some children, Commissioners discovered, were taking snuff to keep awake; and as we peruse the Report, it seems surprising that even snuff could keep them on their feet. Kiddies, as young as seven, were found, " for a week together," working " on an average," from 6 a.m. till 11 p.m.[3] Indeed, Commissioners found one instance where a boy worked with a man two days and three nights without a break. This workman, reporting to the Commissioners, said: " I was knocked up and the boy was almost insensible."

As to the universality of night-work, Commissioners are explicit: " The occasional practice of night-work in the print works in all the districts is universal, while in many it is so general and constant that it may be regarded as a part of the regular system of carrying on this branch of trade." [4]

In his long speech Ashley made skilful use of the facts at his disposal: but he played other cards as well. Already the Anti-Corn Law Crusade was all-absorbing in Parliamentary debate, so he threw out a bid for co-operation from those enthusiasts who made all else subservient to their " great cause." " The repeal of the Corn-laws," he said, " would leave these infants as it found them, neither worse nor better—precisely in the condition in which they are in those countries where no Corn-laws prevail, in France and Belgium. Whatever it might do for others, it would do nothing for these; but I solemnly declare that if I believed the removal of the impost would place these many thousands in a position of comfort and keep them in it,[5] I would, in spite of every difficulty, and in the

[1] H. of C., Feb. 18, 1845.

[2] Ashley, *Regulation of Labour of Children in Calico-Print Works of Great Britain and Ireland*, 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, 13.

[4] *Parl. Papers*, 1843, xiii, " Trades and Manufactures," 69. Calico-printing works were located in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, West and East Scotland, places near London, and in Ireland.

[5] Bright and Cobden argued that " Repeal " would solve the whole industrial problem.

face of every apprehension, vote at once for their entire abolition." [1]

But though Shaftesbury was at pains to maintain a conciliatory attitude, nevertheless he made it clear that he would never allow his cause to be side-tracked and snowed under :— " Sir, it has been said to me more than once, ' Where will you stop ? ' I reply without hesitation, ' Nowhere so long as any portion of this mighty evil remains to be removed.' I confess that my desire and ambition are to bring all the labouring children of the Empire within the reach and opportunities of education, within the sphere . . . of happy and useful citizens. I am ready, so far as my services are of any value, to devote what little I have of energy and all the remainder of my life to the accomplishment of this end ; the labour would be great and the anxieties very heavy ; but I fear neither the one nor the other ; I fear nothing but defeat. I should cheerfully undertake it all had I but the hope of your countenance and support." [2]

Ashley's Bill hit straight at the roots of the evils concerned. First he called for " the total abolition of night work for all females of whatever ages, and all of both sexes under thirteen." Secondly, he proposed that " none under thirteen years of age shall be allowed to work more than eight hours a day for six days in the week, or more than twelve hours a day for three alternate days in the week." Thirdly, he demanded " that two hours a day of schooling should be required with respect to those children who work eight hours a day for six days in the week ; and three hours of schooling on alternate days with respect to those who work twelve hours a day for three days in the week." [3]

The debate following was indicative of the interests and prejudices which Ashley faced ; confronted with bitter opposition, he was backed by only half-hearted support.[4] Graham succeeded him : and after paying flattering compliments, and admiring the " moderation " of his discourse, he proceeded to express profound distrust of all industrial legislation :—" I hope the House will pause before it accedes to all the propositions of the noble Lord. . . . I see the impossibility, if we now advance

[1] *Children in Calico-Print Works*, 21.

[2] *Ibid.* ; *Speeches*, 166. For further account of Calico-Print Works see Appendix to *Commissioners' Report*, 1843, xiv, xv.

[3] *Speeches*, 161–3.

[4] H. of C., Feb. 18, 1845.

along this line, of stopping here. The noble Lord tells us that he will not stop here, and that he proposes applying legislative interference to the whole working population of the country. I cannot view that alternative without a serious apprehension that a fatal effect will be produced on the trades and manufactures of the country." However, in spite of fears, Graham declared that he would *not* oppose the introduction of the Bill. Hume, later, made one of his bitterest onslaughts. He " regretted that the right hon. Baronet had allowed the Bill to be introduced." Agricultural labourers were " worse off " than any of these children.[1] " All interference for the regulation of labour was mischievous to those whom it was intended to benefit." England was the " most enlightened country in the world," and English parents could be trusted to look after their own offspring without legislative interference. Such a Bill savoured of midsummer madness : it was " running counter to nature." But when Hume was thoroughly roused, his venomous tooth bit deeper still : " All busy-bodies are nuisances, but the worst of all are Government busy-bodies." Finally, this eminent exponent of the " dismal science " implored Graham not to allow " any further restriction to be imposed on the *working classes of this country*." [2] Cobden followed Hume ; and his attack, though less bitter, was scarcely less cutting. He admitted he was an " interested party," and " had rather the matter was left in other hands." But having risen, he defended his interests with spirit. Like other speakers, he too conjured up ghosts of agricultural labourers, and then passed on to warn Ashley, that his procedure would place Britain under " a Chinese system of legislation."

As debate proceeded, none of Ashley's old supporters came to his rescue. Wakley, a Radical, rendered the most substantial backing he received. The atmosphere was wholly different from that created by his Mines and Collieries speech, and was reminiscent of the fierce opposition of the previous year, when fighting for the Ten Hours Bill. His Diary, Feb. 21st, reflects disappointment—almost depression ; yet, buoyed up by faith and hope, he persevered : " Print-works speech over on the 18th. The House is weary of these narratives of suffering and shame ; . . . it catches, therefore, at any excuse for inattention, and

[1] Cobden, Wakley and Labouchere also taunted Ashley about the condition of farm labourers.

[2] Hansard, Feb. 18, 1845, 660 ff. (italics inserted).

damns the advocate of the toiling thousands by courteous indifference. Civil and even kind to myself personally, though manifestly tired of the subject and somewhat of me. . . . Sir James Graham complimentary, cold, hostile, subtle, admitted the Bill and made preparations to throw it out! Public opinion, too, either dead to the woe or preoccupied by trade; not a newspaper will give one syllable to the wrongs of these miserable whelps; and how, without public opinion, can I make the least progress? However, be this as it may, I will against hope believe in hope. I will not throw up the cause; I will, God helping me, persevere." [1] Five weeks later he noted: "Alas! I stand alone; not a 'penny-a-liner' with me; all dark, dismal, silent; but I shall yet 'expect.'" [2]

This perseverance bore fruits; in spite of the dark outlook, on June 30, 1845, Shaftesbury's Bill, much amended, passed into law as the "Print Works Act." [3] But the Bill's wings were well clipped before it was released from Committee. Graham demanded the exclusion of all reference to the *auxiliary* trades, and insisted that the measure apply only to print-works proper.[4] He also eliminated the clause restricting the working day for children under thirteen to eight hours, insisting that so fluctuating a trade could never survive such interference. With educational provisions too he took some liberty.[5] But, in spite of amendments, the Act registered advance.[6] It stipulated that no child under eight be engaged in any print-works, and surgeons' certificates were demanded establishing the age of children commencing labour; that no woman or child [7] be employed at night-work (10 p.m. till 6 a.m.); that all children under thirteen attend school at least thirty days in each half-year, exclusive of Sundays; that teaching be imparted between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m.; that such teaching should "not be less than one hundred and fifty hours during each half year," and "no attendance above five hours on any one day shall be reckoned as Part of the said One hundred and fifty Hours." Moreover, in addition, the Act placed all print-works under supervision of factory inspectors,

[1] Hodder, ii. 89. [2] *Ibid.*, 90.

[3] 8 and 9 Vict., cap. 29.

[4] In fairness to Graham, it should be remembered that comparatively few children were employed in these *auxiliary* trades.

[5] Hansard, April 2, 1845.

[6] The Bill was subjected to several hostile speeches in the Lords, but it suffered no further amendments than those imposed by the Commons.

[7] "Child" meant under thirteen years.

whom it clothed with authority. Among their duties, for instance, was to examine into the school record of every child employed in this industry, and where they were dissatisfied with the work of any schoolmaster they had power to annul his certificates of attendance, and to transfer the children to another school.[1]

Thus, in spite of all opposition, a substantial victory was finally won.[2]

2. The Extension Acts of 1864 and 1867.

Certain Members of Parliament, including the Home Secretary, were perturbed by Shaftesbury's statement, in 1845, that he would "stop nowhere," so long as "any portion" of industrial abuse remained; and subsequent events proved that these opponents had grounds for apprehension, because the avowed purpose of the Employment Commission, for which Shaftesbury moved in 1861, was to extend the Factory Acts' protection to all women, children and young persons still beyond the scope of legislation. The importance of the Extension Acts of 1864 and 1867 is generally recognized and need but briefly detain us here. These statutes were the inevitable outcome of Shaftesbury's persistent endeavour: they were the logical development of industrial measures which, directly or indirectly, he had forced through Parliament; and though, in each case, they were introduced by the "Government of the day," it is none the less true that the silent pressure of the veteran reformer, and the indisputable success of the measures he had carried, were the driving power behind these new and comprehensive Acts, extending protection beyond the textile industries to hundreds of thousands of women, children and young persons, previously outside the pale.[3] And it is pleasing to note that the gentlemen in charge

[1] For educational clauses, xxiii to xxvi, 8 and 9 Vict., cap. 29.

[2] In 1854 Shaftesbury introduced into the Lords a Bill to regulate bleaching and dye-works, but though this measure passed that Chamber unanimously, it was thrown out in the Commons. Indeed, not till 1860 were these auxiliary trades protected. In a debate on this subject (1856) one Member said that the prevailing system was bleaching "not linen, but the lives of boys and girls."

[3] Even the Act of 1864 pushed control beyond employments where steam, water, or mechanical power was used; and in one instance it applied to industry conducted in private houses (Speeches of Walpole and Bruce, Hansard, March 1, 1867).

of these new Bills were emphatic in ascribing to Shaftesbury the real credit for the forward step.[1]

The Second Children's Employment Commission, sitting nearly five years, issued six Reports; and so convincing was their evidence that the road to legislation was well blazed. But other influences also were mightily at work. In the first place, the proven success of the various Acts defending textile workers had converted many opponents of industrial legislation, both manufacturers and politicians, to the wisdom of Government interference;[2] while, secondly, not a few mill-masters protested loudly at the injustice of leaving large industries outside the supervision of law, when their manufactories were rigidly controlled.[3] Consequently when these Bills came up for discussion the atmosphere was favourable. The fierce antagonism, which characterized the 1844 debates, had burned itself out. It was now almost taken for granted that intervention was necessary; indeed the burden of proof was thrown upon the opponents, not the advocates, of industrial reform.

Startling facts were unearthed by the Commission, providing strong food for thought. Londonderry and Brougham had never wearied of arguing that the best, and only necessary, protection of the child was parental care. But the Commissioners frequently found parents more to blame for overworking their children than masters. With monotonous recurrence they discovered fathers, and even mothers, drunk nearly every Monday and Tuesday; while, toward the end of the week, in frantic effort to make up for the money squandered, they mercilessly worked their children from dawn till far into the night. In making hosiery, some women, toiling in small shops or at home, pinned their kiddies to their knees in order to keep them employed, and when the youngsters showed signs of drowsiness they slapped them, thus compelling a resumption of labour.[4] Some parents, indeed, contrived to live on thei offsprings' labour, and not a few moved to industrial cities "for the sake of their children's earnings."[5] The Commission also found

[1] The 1864 Act was introduced by Bruce under Palmerston's Government; the 1867 Acts by Walpole under Derby's Government.

[2] By this time Graham, Roebuck and Cobden were won over to "Government interference."

[3] Shaftesbury always made it plain that industrial legislation was first introduced into the textile industry, not because it was worse than other industries, but because it provided the most favourable soil for operation.

[4] *Children's Employment Commission, 1864, Second Report*, xxii. 36.

[5] Hutchins and Harrison, *op. cit.*, 159.

that in small workshops and private homes, where industry was prosecuted, labouring conditions were appreciably worse than in large factories. Therefore they recommended that legislation be applied to all workshops and private houses in which any sort of manufacturing process was carried on, as well as to factories and mills where large numbers of workers congregated together.

But when all is said about the revelation of the Commissioners' Reports and the conversion of manufacturers and politicians, still other influences remain to be considered before we can appreciate the atmosphere in which the legislation of 1864 and 1867 was passed. Hutchins and Harrison rightly contend that "the conversion of public opinion between 1845 and 1860 was curiously rapid and complete."[1] The "iron laws of economics," dangled before Ashley's eyes with such pomposity in 1844, had, in experience, proven no stronger than ropes of grass. The infallible dogmas of political economists lay shattered, as false idols, in the streets of practical achievement. The old dictum that the success of British industry depended upon the last hours of children's labour lay exposed as an ignorant assumption; for inspectors proved that, owing to the increase of spoiled work whenever labourers were fatigued, the losses and not the profits of industry, were associated with these "last hours of toil."[2] Then, too, the prosperity of "controlled" industries hurled back the lie in the teeth of those who predicted ruin; for these mourners were now confronted with the fact that controlled industries were not only flourishing, but expanding. Similarly those who contended that restrictive legislation would eliminate the possibility of competition in world markets, and thus kill Britain's foreign trade, were shamed into silence; for this prophesied "corpse" had never been more alive, and was now growing at an astounding pace. Again, Shaftesbury's reiterations concerning the national value of child life had borne fruit; for *The Times* was only reflecting a now-accepted truism when, in 1867, it said that "to employ women and children unduly is simply to run in debt with Nature."[3] Moreover it is noteworthy that in the debates of 1864 and 1867 it was almost taken for granted that at least an elementary education was the inalienable right of every child. Now no one dared to suggest,

[1] *Op. cit.*, 121.
[2] See Kennedy's verdict (*Parl. Papers*, 1843, xiv. 105).
[3] *Times*, March 4, 1867. On March 1st Walpole had introduced his Factory Acts Extension Bill and his Workshops Regulation Bill.

as Londonderry had, in 1842, that for a collier's children an education in the mines was preferable to a "reading and writing education." Indeed, the whole significant change, gradually sweeping over public opinion, is well illustrated in the statement of a manufacturer. Writing in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, March 19, 1867, this gentleman says: "Nineteen-twentieths of the earthenware manufacturers were opposed to the Act when it was first introduced, myself among the number. I consider that nineteen-twentieths now would be unwilling to part with it."[1]

Speaking generally, the Acts of 1864 and 1867 extended factory legislation to all industries outside the control of Government.[2] The 1864 Act applied to six specially chosen industries, including the potteries, lucifer match factories, and explosive plants; the Factory Acts Extension Act of 1867 applied to all factories previously uncontrolled, where fifty or more persons worked at "any manufacturing process"; while the supplementary Workshops Regulation Act controlled the industry of smaller plants and private houses.[3] With all the complicated details of these Acts, their modifications and exceptions, we are not here concerned. Commissioner Tremenheere and Mr. Thring were chiefly responsible for their provisions; and Shaftesbury paid them warm tribute for the efficiency of their endeavours.[4] As in the 1850 Act, the labour of young persons prescribed by these Bills was limited to ten-and-a-half hours a day, and no child, woman or young person could be employed after 2 p.m. Saturdays; no child under eight might engage in any handicraft whatever; and children under thirteen could only be employed on a half-time basis, thus providing leisure and energy for education.[5] But, in spite of their great value, these Acts did not bring the standard of legislative control up to the level of the Factory Acts of 1847 and 1850. In the newly protected industries young persons' labour, instead of being limited between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., ranged between 5 a.m. and 8 p.m.; while that of children ranged between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. Hence

[1] This statement referred to the Act of 1864. The conversion of textile manufacturers, bound by earlier legislation, was equally convincing.

[2] Walpole claimed that his two Bills (1867) would extend protection to 1,400,000 women, children and young persons previously unprotected.

[3] 30 and 31 Vict., cap. 103 and 146, for some idea of where factory legislation stood in 1867.

[4] Preface to *Speeches*, vii.

[5] Hansard, March 1, 1867; 30 and 31 Vict., cap. 103 and 146.

there was no real guarantee against relays such as Shaftesbury had won for textile workers in 1850. Then, too, the education for newly protected children was scarcely up to the standard for which Shaftesbury had long fought, and which had been established in other trades by earlier legislation.

In a word, great as is the importance of these Extension Acts, and comprehensive as is their scope, they bear on their face the tragedy of 1850. Had not the veteran, who in 1861 procured the Commission behind this later legislation, been disowned by old comrades, there can be little doubt that the Acts of 1864 and 1867 would have been still more comprehensive; for disunion had retarded progress. However, the 1850 disruption shows how human were the parties concerned, and it is refreshing to note that by 1867 Shaftesbury was quite restored to his old place as "guide, counsellor and friend" of the industrial populace; for by that time it was generally recognized that the lord responsible for the Second Children's Employment Commission was chief driving force behind these new and important Acts. Walpole, introducing his 1867 Bills, paid him striking testimony. "In alluding to those to whom I think merit is due, I cannot pass without mention of the benevolent exertions of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who, from the beginning to the end of these factory measures, has been the prime mover at every step, through a period of trial and difficulty, and who now has the satisfaction of seeing his labours rewarded by the prospect which presents itself of having those labours brought to a triumphant conclusion." [1]

3. Agricultural Gangs.

On many occasions, when fighting for factory legislation, Shaftesbury was taunted as a hypocrite. Repeatedly it was asserted that he was "lynx-eyed" to all evils of the manufacturing system, and blind to the abuses of agricultural districts. This accusation contained an element of truth; nevertheless, it is out of harmony with strict veracity. Shaftesbury hated oppression wherever he saw it; and agricultural oppression was to him no whit more excusable than that in factories or mines. But he was a practical man, and knew that factory labour, because of its concentration, provided the most prolific soil for

[1] H. of C. March 1, 1867.

legislation. It was essential, therefore, that the first rounds of the struggle must be fought in big industries, where thousands of employees were huddled together and where inspection could be conducted with maximum efficiency. The strategy of the campaign demanded such procedure. Yet this does not mean that Shaftesbury was blind to agricultural evils. On the contrary, his Sturminster speech, before his own constituents, back in 1843, denouncing agricultural injustice was as emphatic as the most scathing of his utterances deploring the cruelties of factory labour. The Earl's own statement, however, regarding his order of procedure, is convincing and frank: "The agricultural part of the question was reserved to the last, first, because it presented the greatest difficulties; and, secondly, because it required all the sympathy and experience to be derived from the proof of success, furnished by the factories, to obtain for it a favourable reception." [1]

Consequently, when the Second Children's Employment Commission was investigating conditions in industries still outside the Factory Laws, Shaftesbury felt the hour had struck when he might push the cause of agricultural labourers with some prospect of success.[2] Therefore, on May 12, 1865,[3] he moved that the Commissioners' scope be so widened as to include a thorough investigation into conditions of employment in "agricultural gangs." Pressing this motion, Shaftesbury not only cited cases proving the need of such investigation, but also he asserted that an agricultural inquiry was only the fair due of manufacturers whose activities were already controlled by legislation.[4]

Shaftesbury's plea for this investigation was granted; two years later, 1867, the Commission reported on conditions in agricultural districts; and no time was lost by the instigator of the inquiry in utilizing the data disclosed. On April 11, 1867, in a powerful speech in the Lords, he ventilated the whole subject and pled with the Peers, as chief landlords of the Kingdom, to remove a scandal crying aloud at their own door.[5] These "Agricultural Gangs" were of two sorts, "public" and "private." A public gang consisted of from twelve to forty

[1] Preface to *Speeches*, vii.

[2] Shaftesbury was first to press seriously for legislation in this sphere (*Speeches*, 410).

[3] Hodder is in error when he says Shaftesbury moved for this investigation in 1863 (H. of L., May 12, 1865).

[4] H. of L., May 12, 1865.

[5] *Ibid.*, April 11, 1867.

persons, averaging about twenty; it was composed, generally, of women and children, hired by a "gang master," to perform labour for which he had contracted with a farmer. Therefore it was to this master's interest to squeeze the maximum of labour from every child. Private gangs were usually somewhat smaller than public ones; they were engaged by the farmer himself, and their work was supervised by one of his own labourers.[1] Both sorts were employed in similar tasks. They performed all manner of unskilled farm labour, their toil varying with the seasons. Planting and picking potatoes, spreading manure, hoeing turnips, weeding corn, picking stones, and pulling flax were some of the labours to which they turned their hands.

Not a few "gang" children were but six, seven or eight years old, yet frequently the "gang master," collecting his workers at 5 or 6 a.m., marched them from five to eight miles to their scene of labour.[2] Education of these youngsters, consequently, was wholly neglected, and mortality among them rivalled the worst factory districts.[3] Edwin Hodder gives a vivid description of their lot: "Year in, year out, in summer heat and winter cold; in sickness and in health; with backs warped and aching from constant stooping; with hands . . . blistered from pulling turnips, and fingers lacerated from weeding among the stones; these English slaves, with education neglected, with morals corrupted, degraded and brutalized, labour from early morning till late at night, and, by the loss of all things, gain the miserable pittance that barely keeps them from starvation."[4]

Shaftesbury's plea for these unfortunate victims was such as is rarely heard in the frigid atmosphere of the Lords. True, it was based, almost exclusively, upon an official document; its evidence too was carefully arranged, and all the proprieties of that stereotyped Chamber were scrupulously observed. Yet the speech was different. The man now pleading the cause of agricultural women and children spoke not with cold, metallic voice. His words rang with emotion; his heart obviously was behind the subject quite as much as his head; he made the

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1867, xvi. 71 f.

[2] *Sixth Report of Children's Employment Commission* (*Parl. Papers*, 1867, xvi. 78). Some parents heartlessly made the employment of their younger children the condition on which "gang masters" might hire the older ones.

[3] This fact was established by *Sixth Report of Medical Office of Privy Council*, which Shaftesbury quoted in the Lords.

[4] Hodder, i. 10.

pages of a Blue Book to tell an exceedingly graphic story: and before he resumed his seat, he had convinced the Peers that if they turned their backs upon the grievances of agricultural victims they must, simultaneously, because of their peculiar position as landlords, part company with self-respect.

The Commissioners found that masters of *public* gangs were employing, in English counties, not less than seven thousand boys and girls "from six years old and upwards"; while in *private* gangs the number employed was fully twenty thousand.[1] But, having stated the proportions of the evil, Shaftesbury hastened to make his case concrete. One mother declared: "In June 1862, my daughters, Harriet and Sarah, aged respectively eleven and thirteen years, were engaged to work on Mr. Norman's land at Stilton. When they got there he took them near Peterborough; there they worked for six weeks, going and returning each day. The distance each way is eight miles, so that they had to walk sixteen miles each day on all the six working days of the week, besides working in the field from 8 to 5 or 5.30 in the afternoon. They used to start from home at 5 in the morning, and seldom got back before 9. They had to find all their own meals, as well as their own tools (such as hoes). They were good for nothing at the end of six weeks. The ganger persuaded me to send my little girl Susan, who was then six years of age. She walked all the way (eight miles) to Peterborough to her work, and worked from 8 till 5.30, and received 4d. She was so tired that her sisters had to carry her the best part of the way home—eight miles—and she was ill from it for three weeks, and never went again."[2]

The treatment meted out to these children by brutal gangmasters was almost on a par with the old ruffianism in the mines. Floggings with fork handles and hurdle sticks were quite the order of the day with the bullying type of "ganger." Another woman testified: "My own children have been dropped into across the loins and dropped right down, and if they don't know how to get up he (the ganger) has kicked them. I have many a time seen my own and other children knocked about by him in this way. . . . Of course he don't knock the big ones; it is

[1] *Speeches*, 411. Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Nottinghamshire were chief seats of the gang system (*Parl. Papers*, 1867, xvi. 71).

[2] *Ibid.*, 412; H. of L., April 11, 1867 (quoted from *Parl. Papers*, 1867, xvi. 78).

the little ones he takes advantage of ; I have heard him use to a child most awful words for a girl to hear. My boy, when about ten or eleven, had a white swelling on his knee, and lay suffering nearly six years before he had his leg and thigh taken off, all but about as long as a finger. He came back one day and said he had a thorn, but others told me about the man kicking him. He was a very quiet boy and was for peace. The doctor said it was from ill-usage, a fall or a kick ; there was no thorn." [1]

Turning to the moral effects of gang labour, Rev. Mr. Huntley, rector of Binbrooke, summed up the situation by saying : " All is blank." There was not one " sober-minded person " throughout his parish, he declared, who did not " denounce the gangs as destructive of the morals of the poor." [2] Dr. Morris, " medical officer to the Spalding Union Infirmary," said : " I am convinced that the gang system is the cause of much immorality. . . . The gangers . . . pay the children once a week at some beerhouse ; and it is no uncommon thing for their children to be kept waiting at the place till eleven or twelve o'clock at night. At the infirmary many girls of fourteen years of age, and even girls of thirteen, up to seventeen years of age, have been brought in pregnant to be confined there. The girls have acknowledged that their ruin has taken place in this gang work. . . . I have myself witnessed gross indecencies between boys and girls of fourteen and sixteen years of age." [3]

To eradicate these evils Shaftesbury urged drastic remedies. The main provisions of the Bill he requested leave to introduce were : (1) That no female under eighteen be employed in any *public* gang. (2) That no child under eight be employed for hire in field labour of any sort. (3) That after January 1, 1869, no female under eleven [4] be employed for hire in any field labour whatever. (4) That no child between the ages of eight and thirteen be employed for hire, in field labour, without producing, at regular periods, a satisfactory certificate of school attendance. Having thus made plain the nature of the malady and his proposed remedy, Shaftesbury proceeded : " My Lords, in attempting to grapple with this evil, I hope your Lordships will kindly aid me by your sympathy and support. In this way

[1] *Speeches*, 415–16.

[2] Commissioners paid special thanks to the clergy of all denominations for hearty assistance (*Parl. Papers*, 1867, xvi. 152).

[3] *Speeches*, 413.

[4] Shaftesbury intimated that he should like to say thirteen, instead of eleven, years of age.

you will give the crowning stroke to the various efforts made for many years past to bring all the industrial occupations of the young and defenceless under the protection of law; and that whether they are employed in trade, in manufactures, or in any handicraft whatever, every child under a certain age may be subject only to a limited amount of labour, and be certain to receive an adequate [1] amount of education. All that remains for your Lordships now to do, as representing the landowners of the Kingdom, is to embrace within the scope of your beneficent legislation the whole mass of the agricultural population. Then, I believe, we shall be enabled to say that no country upon earth surpasses us in the care we take of the physical, the moral and the educational well-being of the myriads of our humbler fellow-creatures." [2]

Shaftesbury's plea was not in vain. He was granted permission to introduce his Bill, and soon the principle of that Bill was sanctioned by a second reading in the Lords. Many Peers, however, were alarmed at what they considered its radical demands. Consequently, under mask of further inquiry, the Lords side-tracked the Bill.[3] But, to save their faces, they had to offer a substitute; so before the year 1867 had run its course, the Government patched up a measure of their own and placed it on the Statute Books as the "Agricultural Gangs Act." [4] This Act dealt effectively with the moral perversions engendered by the Gang system; but, on the whole, it was a shadowy substitute for Shaftesbury's Bill. However, it introduced into agricultural districts the thin edge of the legislative wedge, thus establishing an important precedent.

Six years later, 1873, Clare Read carried an Agricultural Bill which imposed restrictions, including compulsory education, approximating towards the demands of Shaftesbury's measure; [5] and finally the Government's Elementary Education Act, of 1876,[6] made it illegal to employ any child in agriculture under

[1] Hansard here prints "certain," while Shaftesbury's *Speeches* print "adequate." The change was apparently made to avoid immediate repetition of "certain"; not because Shaftesbury was contented with the education prescribed, as "adequate."

[2] *Speeches*, 420.

[3] About this time a Bill dealing with the agricultural problem was introduced into the Commons by Henry Fawcett; it was soon dropped.

[4] 30 and 31 Vict., cap. 130.

[5] 36 and 37 Vict., cap. 67, "The Agricultural Children's Act of 1873." This Act was not as inclusive as Shaftesbury's 1867 Bill.

[6] 39 and 40 Vict., cap. 79.

ten years of age.[1] Thus, events proved that, even in agriculture, Shaftesbury was a pioneer, marching with the vanguard of progress.

4. The Brick-yard Children.

Nominally, by the extension of the Factory Acts (1864 and 1867) all women, children and young persons, employed in any sort of manufactory, were protected by legislation. Laws, however, have always been notorious for their loopholes, and in this case, because of a technicality, brick-yard children, though needing protection as much as any workers, were left outside the guardianship of these inclusive measures.[2] Consequently, when the evil results of this omission became apparent, the foster-father of all submerged children again took to the war-path ; and though he now had passed the allotted span of man's years, nevertheless the zeal with which he entered the fray and maintained the brick children's cause, showed that neither his enthusiasm nor his ability was a jot diminished.

But to appreciate the brick-yard problem, one must know something of the life of George Smith of Coalville ; for to the sacrificial endeavours of this enthusiast, who for many years was manager of extensive brick-yards,[3] no small credit for a splendid victory is due.[4] When seven years old, Smith was employed at brick-making, and, throughout early childhood, long hours of toil were enforced upon him by kicks and blows. When nine, his regular hours of labour were thirteen, and sometimes he was obliged to work all night, " continually carrying about 40 lb. of clay upon his head, from the clay heap to the table at which

[1] Shaftesbury's Bill demanded that " no female under eleven years of age, shall be employed for hire in any field labour whatever " ; and he reminded the Lords that he personally would like to see the limit fixed at thirteen, not eleven.

[2] H. of L., July 11, 1871 ; *George Smith of Coalville*, by E. Hodder, 46–7. Brick-fields employing over fifty workmen came under Factory Acts Extension Acts, but their number was small, and from 20,000 to 30,000 children and young persons, employed in this industry, were left unprotected.

[3] George Smith, *Cry of the Children from the Brick-yards of England*, 70.

[4] See Hodder's *George Smith of Coalville : The Story of an Enthusiast*. Smith's life is a real romance. The son of a local Methodist preacher, he, like Shaftesbury, approached the social problem in a religious spirit. In addition to his brick-field labours, he rendered great service to gypsies and dwellers in canal boats ; also, as a life advocate of free education, a Sunday School enthusiast, a local preacher, a friend of many M.P.'s, and an unwearying correspondent to the press, he exerted no inconsiderable influence in behalf of outcast society.

the bricks were made." A few sentences from Smith's own pen will help us better to understand the cruelty of his early fate: "The results of the long and severe labour to which I was subjected, combined with the cruel treatment . . . at the hands of adult labourers, are shown by marks that are borne by me to this day. On one occasion I had to perform a very heavy amount of labour. *After my customary day's work*, I had to carry 1,200 nine-inch bricks from the maker to the floor on which they are placed to harden; the total distance thus walked by me that night was not less than fourteen miles, seven miles of which I traversed with 11 lb. weight of clay in my arms, besides lifting the unmade clay and carrying it some distance to the maker.[1] The total quantity of clay thus carried by me was 5½ tons. For all this labour I received sixpence! The fatigue thus experienced brought on a serious illness, which for several weeks prevented me from resuming work."[2]

Such was Smith's youthful experience! But finally, when freed, he manifested the zeal of a ransomed slave in endeavouring to redeem his fellows, still groaning beneath the oppressor's yoke. In and out of season, he created propaganda for his cause;[3] and at last, with the support of Inspector Baker, Mr. Mundella, M.P.,[4] and Shaftesbury, his crusade was crowned with success.

Shaftesbury, introducing the brick-yard question to the Lords, quoted largely from Smith's pamphlets[5] and Inspector Baker's reports; while the graphic descriptions of an American, Elihu Burritt, he also cited with approval. But, following his thirst for first-hand information, the Earl investigated certain brick-fields himself; and the description of his inspection, as presented to the Peers, was irresistible. Brick-yard workers, some distance off, he declared, looked like pillars of clay: "They were so like the ground on which they stood, their features so indistinguishable, their dress so besoiled and covered with clay,

[1] Inspector Baker, and other investigators, proved that, during an ordinary day's labour, brick-yard children walked from twelve to twenty miles. Hence, as this task immediately followed his day's work, the lad must have walked between 26 and 34 miles without a break; and for half this distance he was loaded with clay or bricks.

[2] *George Smith of Coalville*, 26.

[3] Smith carried on his propaganda by means of letters to the press, private interviews, public speeches and widely circulated pamphlets (*S. as Soc. Ref.*, 104; *George Smith of Coalville*, 47 ff.).

[4] As early as 1868 Mundella raised this question in H. of C.

[5] See particularly *Cry of the Children from the Brick-yards of England*, 6th edit. (1789), with illustrations.

their flesh so like their dress, that until I approached and saw them move I believed them to be products of the earth." [1] As Shaftesbury drew near to these youngsters, they at first ran away screaming, as though some satanic being had ascended out of the depths of the earth to aggravate their torture. But, following them to their work, he thus describes the scene: "I saw little children three parts naked tottering under the weight of wet clay, . . . and little girls holding up their shifts with large masses of wet, cold and dripping clay pressing on the abdomen. Moreover, the unhappy children were exposed to the most sudden transitions of heat and cold; for, after carrying their burdens of wet clay, they had to endure the heat of the kiln and to enter places where the heat was so fierce that I was not myself able to remain more than two or three minutes. Can it be denied that in these brick-yards, men, women and children, especially poor female children, are brought down to a point of degradation and suffering lower than the beasts of the field?" [3]

For these conditions, Shaftesbury contended, there was no justification; so, once again, he crossed swords with *laissez-faire* politicians who maintained that English parents might safely be left to decide for themselves the best interests of their children. Too frequently, he urged, the rapacity and profligacy of parents contributed as largely to the maintenance of brick-field serfdom as did the avarice of employers. One master brickmaker, for instance, made the following statement, corroborated by such unimpeachable evidence as Inspector Baker's: "I have known persons in receipt of two, three and four pounds a week put their children out to work in the clay-fields for a few shillings per week, hung in rags, while the parents themselves rioted at home or in the pothouses, in every form of beastly excess." [4]

After presenting his evidence, Shaftesbury called for action: "Therefore, my Lords, I hope that not a day will be permitted to pass until an address is sent up to the Queen, praying Her Majesty to take the condition of these poor people into her

[1] H. of L., July 11, 1871.

[2] George Smith found a lad who weighed only 52½ lb. carrying 43 lb. of clay; this lad walked 15 miles daily and worked 73 hours a week (*George Smith of Coalville*, 53).

[3] Hansard, July 11, 1871, 1406.

[4] Second Children's Employment Commission exposed these evils in 1864, but with little effect. An address, however, by Smith before the Social Science Congress in 1870, was reported at length in all parts of the country, and crystallized much public opinion.

gracious consideration, in order that such abominations may be brought speedily to an end." His petition was granted. Not a dissenting voice was raised; while, on the other hand, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Morley and Viscount Midleton all expressed warm appreciation of his endeavours, and promised unreserved support. Midleton even suggested the manner of his own conversion: "On reading Mr. Smith's pamphlet I thought the statements contained in it utterly monstrous, but I have seen the gentleman himself and questioned him very closely about them. After a careful cross-examination I have arrived at the conclusion that, if anything, the writer has rather understated his case." Then, emphasizing the indecencies and immoralities characterizing brick-yard life, Midleton concluded by declaring that, in this industry, "all female labour should be entirely dispensed with." [1]

With such unanimity in the Lords, victory was assured. The following day, July 12th, Shaftesbury, in exuberant spirits, wrote to Smith: "Thank God I carried the address last night. We shall have this year a Bill for the children in the brick-yards. Bless God for His grace on your efforts." [2] His Lordship's prediction proved correct. Before Parliament disbanded, "The Factory Acts (Brick and Tile Yards) Extension Bill" was carried through all its stages, and on January 1, 1872, passed into law. Thus Smith's propaganda throughout the country,[3] the labours of Mundella in the Commons,[4] and Shaftesbury's endeavours in the Lords were more than repaid. Gladstone's Government, which, after some persuasion, made the Bill its own, would not venture to exclude all females from brick-yards, but it did exclude all under sixteen; while, also, it prohibited the employment of all male children under ten.[5] Consequently, with brick-yards subjected to legislation, the last major scandal of British industry was peacefully removed; for now all manufactories and workshops, large and small, were under supervision of Government inspectors.

[1] H. of L., 1409–10, where Midleton's speech appears, has printed July 10, for July 11, 1871.

[2] *George Smith of Coalville*, 59.

[3] For some idea of the enthusiasm which Smith's agitation created, see article in *Primitive Methodist*, an organ which rendered him "yeoman's service"; quoted in *Cry of Children from Brickyards of England*, 40 ff.

[4] Mundella introduced a Bill dealing with this problem, June 13, 1871 (H. of C., 2044).

[5] *Bills Public*, 1871, ii. 49; Factories and Workshops Acts Amendment, Clause 5, *ibid.*, 42; 34 and 35 Vict., cap. 104.

5. Chimney Sweeps.

Women, children and young persons employed in all forms of factory, workshop or agricultural labour now enjoyed the protection of national legislation; while, also, the opportunity for at least an elementary education was recognized as the right of every child. After long years of struggle, therefore, the supremacy of personality over property was legally vindicated. Nevertheless, one scandal had still to be removed before all juvenile employment was released from the last vestiges of the slave mart. And that remaining scandal, which Shaftesbury described as ten times more pernicious than any factory ills,[1] was one for which housewives, magistrates and peers were more responsible than manufacturers; it was an abuse linked closely to the home, and concerned the employment of little chimney sweeps, commonly known as "climbing boys."

The supply of these sweeps was recruited in much the same manner as that resorted to by the early mills. The youngsters came mostly from orphanages, poor houses, and pauper institutions; but also there was not wanting a considerable number of drunken, brutal parents who, for small gain, would sell their own offspring into a condition of torture suggestive of living death.[2] To prepare these infants for labour a common practice was to soak their bodies in brine, then to dry them before a fire, and reapply the stinging brine. With their skin thus "treated," these little creatures, frequently nude, were driven up flues, some of which were so small that only the smallest child could gain access; and if the tiny sweep, choked by soot and scared by darkness, hesitated to climb, then certain orthodox devices were adopted to stimulate his courage. One was prodding the soles of his feet with wire: another was burning a

[1] H of C., April 14, 1840, 1093. Shaftesbury on this occasion pointed out that every London Fire Insurance Company, save one, now recommended the use of chimney-sweeping machines instead of climbing boys.

[2] William Blake's oft-quoted verse is here suggestive:

> "When my mother died I was very young,
> And my father sold me when yet my tongue
> Could scarcely cry 'Weep! Weep! Weep! Weep!'
> So your chimneys I sweep and in soot I sleep"

For graphic description of sweeps' life, in eighteenth century, see Jonas Hanway's *Sentimental History of Chimney Sweepers in London and Westminster* (1785).

wisp of straw at the chimney's base to keep him from "foxing."[1] But, as though such tortures were insufficient, a still worse barbarism was resorted to, even in the nineteenth century; for it was no rare practice to drive little sweeps up burning chimneys to extinguish fires. Such practices, naturally, demanded their full toll of deaths. But casualties from roasting or suffocation, provided a tragedy of minor proportions compared with the lingering agony and forced deaths caused by "sooty cancer." Not only did these "scapegoats of civilization" inhale soot continually during their hours of toil, but frequently they had no bed by night, save the soot pile; and there, half-naked, huddling together like wild beasts in their lair, they procured what rest they could.[2]

Many and forceful are the accounts describing this tragic chapter in our history. To that remarkable eighteenth-century zealot, Jonas Hanway, must go the credit of first placing this subject before the public eye.[3] Having investigated the horrors of the sweep's life, Hanway agitated persistently for the suppression of such savagery; and finally, in 1785, the year before his death, he aroused considerable indignation by the publication of his *Sentimental History of the Chimney Sweepers in London and Westminster*. This is a remarkable book, and could not fail to awaken sympathy.[4] Many sweeps, Hanway pointed out, particularly orphans and foundlings, girls occasionally as well as boys, were sold over to seven years' "apprenticeship" for twenty or thirty shillings—less than was frequently paid for a terrier—and in the prosecution of their "trade" they were subjected to brutalities even more ghastly than those suffered by colliery children.[5]

[1] These horrors were exposed in the report of a Select Committee, appointed in 1817. After their revelations a remedial Act was introduced, but it was thrown out by the Lords (Hodder, i. 296).

[2] Whenever inquiries were made, it was revealed that many sweeps did not wash their bodies for a year at a time; some admitted that they had never washed since they began climbing. From all sides came evidence that sweeps were creeping with vermin.

[3] Hanway (1712–86) was a man of remarkable gifts. Catalogue of British Museum Library gives some idea of his range of interest. He was a zealous promoter of Sunday Schools for the poor, and was a moving spirit behind the founding of the Marine Society, Magdalen Hospital and the Foundling Hospital; while, incidentally, he was a great traveller, a prolific writer, and the inventor of the umbrella (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*; *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 70).

[4] Hanway's whole appeal, like that of Wilberforce and Howard, of Hannah More and Mrs. Fry, was based on the cardinal principle of the Evangelical Movement—"the infinite spiritual worth of the downmost man." Wesley never wearied of preaching this doctrine.

[5] *Op. cit.*, particularly chapters iv, v, xiv and xvi.

The immediate effect of Hanway's propaganda was an Act, in 1788, forbidding a master sweep from having more than six apprentices, and from employing them before they were eight years old. For further advance the time was not yet ripe.

Even this modest concession, however, soon proved a dead letter. The Act was never enforced; and, if the whole truth be told, it must be admitted that more than a century succeeded the beginning of Hanway's crusade, before the last remnants of this barbarism were removed. Indeed, in the whole history of social progress, it is doubtful if any reform was more persistently thwarted by bigotry and pettiness. Housewives were adamant in their prejudice that little sweeps were essential to household felicity. How, without them, could family hearths be kept blazing? The introduction of machines, they were convinced, would smother their furniture in soot. Magistrates, too, were no less bigoted than housewives: many feared that if child sweeps were prohibited, they might find it necessary to rebuild the chimneys on their own estates. In the Lords, moreover, debates on this subject prove that that Chamber was literally weighted down with dignitaries who held up their hands in horror at the very mention of such reform, as an unpardonable interference with the rights of property. What business had Parliament to dictate the way in which chimneys be built; or the manner in which they be cleaned? Britons were the most humane and moral people on earth; therefore these questions were better left to the individual judgment of British citizens. Such was the tenor of the Lords' opposition.[1]

Early in the nineteenth century certain societies were trying to purge the nation of this foul stain. Chief among them was the "Society for Superseding the Necessity of Climbing Boys":[2] but although this organization was enthusiastically backed by William Wilberforce, Sir Thomas Baring and the Prince of Wales, it accomplished little; its efforts being persistently checkmated by prejudice.[3] In 1834, however, an Act was passed which seemed to register advance. This measure stipulated that no

[1] Yet, on more than one occasion, the Lords passed Chimney Sweep Bills which the Commons rejected. Generally, however, opposition centred in the Lords (H. of L., May 12, 1853, and May 23, 1853).

[2] This Society even gave machines to poor master sweeps; and it was able to advertise the fact that Edinburgh had successfully done away with climbing boys (Hodder, i. 296).

[3] Efforts at legislation were made in 1817, 1818 and 1819, but were baulked by the Lords (Hammonds' *Lord Shaftesbury*, 218).

apprentice be employed under ten years of age, that no child be sent up a burning chimney, and that all new flues must measure at least fourteen inches by nine, or, if circular, twelve inches in diameter. This Act, however, was unpopular; and, no machinery being provided for enforcement, it left the legislature still-born. Six years later, 1840, Melbourne's Government, with Ashley's support, introduced a seemingly drastic Bill. It prohibited chimney-climbing by anyone under twenty-one, and made it illegal to apprentice a sweep before he was sixteen; while, concerning chimney construction, it reiterated the demands of 1834. This Bill passed safely through the Commons;[1] but the Lords were quick to exhibit opposition. Meanwhile Ashley's Diary, July 4th, reveals his anxiety: "Anxious, very anxious about my sweeps; the Conservative (!) Peers threaten a fierce opposition and the Radical Ministers warmly support the Bill. Normanby[2] has been manly, open, kind-hearted and firm. As I said to him in a letter, so say I now, 'God help him with the Bill, and God *bless him for it*.'"[3] The Lords' opposition forced the appointment of a Select Committee;[4] but from this Committee they derived slight comfort. Its evidence was overwhelming, and the Peers were forced to submit.

But drastic as this 1840 Act appeared, it proved at best a meagre gain.[5] Outside London and Scotland, where the law was reasonably enforced, magistrates, for the most part, doggedly opposed these restrictions, often making enforcement impossible. In some instances, where guilt was clearly established, they flatly refused to convict, and even threw the expenses of prosecution on the plaintiff.[6] Tyranny, consequently, rolled on; and new

[1] Hansard, April 14, June 25 and 29, 1840: *Times*, June 26, 1840. Mr. R. Inglis, answering pessimistic remarks by Hume, reminded the House that this Bill was only furthering the humane principle by which the Legislature abolished the Slave Trade. On June 29th it was read a third time in H. of C. and a first time in H. of L.

[2] The Marquess of Normanby, Home Secretary under Melbourne, championed the Bill in the Lords.

[3] On this date Ashley entered in his Diary an interesting comment on Wellington, who, in superior fashion, refused any support: "I do not wonder at the Duke of Wellington. I have never expected from him anything of the 'soft and tender' kind—let people say what they will, *he is a hard man*" (Hodder, i. 300).

[4] Hansard, July 6, 1840. The Bishops of Exeter and London both supported the Bill, the latter answering the inevitable argument concerning the safety of property by saying: "he would rather place old houses in jeopardy than the life of a fellow-creature." The Earl of Haddington, on the other hand, presented a petition from master sweeps against the Bill.

[5] 3 and 4 Vict., cap. 85.

[6] For some idea of the social outlook and arbitrary conduct of magistrates at this period, see Hammond, *The Town Labourer* (1917); P. A. Brown, *The*

victims, some as young as seven, were offered, living sacrifices, to the idols of prejudice. Hence, in 1851, backed by the Climbing Boys' Society, formed four years earlier, of which he himself was chairman, Shaftesbury, a few days after his accession to the Lords, returned to the fight with a new Bill; but though he carried it in the Second Chamber, the Commons, now lacking his enthusiasm, threw it out. Two years later he came back with the same Bill; but to his surprise the Lords, led by two Irish Peers, Clancarty and Wicklow, raised a storm of protest.[1] Consequently, after the second reading, the subject was once more referred to a Select Committee.

Most remarkable among these 1853 proceedings was a Parliamentary duel between Lord Beaumont and Shaftesbury. In a speech of fiery opposition, Beaumont referred to Shaftesbury's Bill as "pitiful cant of pseudo-philanthropy," and declared that the effect of previous legislation was "that a few more houses had been burned, and a few more persons endangered under its operation, than would have been if it had never been passed."[2] Shaftesbury rarely lost his temper; but on this occasion it hung by a strained thread. "I can only say," he retorted, "that I trust in God I shall ever fall under Lord Beaumont's censure and under the censure of all those who, with him, can apply to the course I have taken a charge of 'cant' and 'miserable legislation.'[3] He also challenged Beaumont to produce a single instance of a house burned, as a result of the previous Acts; but the noble Lord was unable to prove his charge. It was, however, when witnesses appeared before the Select Committee, of which Beaumont was a member, that this haughty peer was exposed at his worst. Peter Hall, a master sweep of forty years' experience, questioned by Shaftesbury, revealed some disquieting facts:

"'Have you lately examined any defective chimneys?' 'I have.'

"'Where?' 'At Lord Beaumont's.'

"'Were they very difficult chimneys?' 'I should say if there could be any worse I should not know where to find them; . . . if they had been built for the purpose they could not have been worse.'

"'Do you know when they were built?' 'They have been

French Revolution in English History (1918); and W. L. Mathieson, *English Church Reform*, 1815–1840 (1923). For direct evidence, see House of Lords Select Committee on Chimney Sweeping, 1853, 100.

[1] Hammond, 223. [2] H. of L., May 23, 1853. [3] Hodder, iii. 154.

built within his Lordship's time, most of them so; I was informed by the builder.'

"'Who was the builder?' 'Pearce, his name is.'

"'Who was the architect?' 'His Lordship, he told me.'"[1]

In spite of all such evidence, however, the Committee decided to do nothing. But reverses could not silence the sworn champion of oppressed children; so next year, 1854, he led a new charge. By this time the Lords, apparently, had repented their previous conduct; for, after amending the Bill, they allowed it to pass: but again the Commons threw it out.[2] A year later Shaftesbury tried once more, but soon he realized that, without a greater volume of public opinion, he was only beating air. Hence, preoccupied with other subjects, he bided his time for a more opportune attack. The next move came in 1861: that year Shaftesbury got sweeps included within the scope of his Second Children's Employment Commission; and the evidence published by this Commission, in 1863, was enough to shame any Government into action.[3] Again it was shown that Peers, magistrates, M.P.'s and fastidious old ladies were among the chief offenders; while in the parish church, Walthamstow, a chimney had recently been cleaned by a boy who entered head downwards.

In 1864, following up the Commission's revelation, Shaftesbury procured further legislation. Pressing forward a new measure, he laid before the House some remarkable evidence. One lady, for instance, when told that she could not have her chimneys swept in the afternoon, because the sweeps were at school, exclaimed: "A chimney sweep, indeed, wanting education! What next?" Such inhumanity made Shaftesbury's blood boil. Commenting on this incident, he exclaimed: "Good Heavens! my Lords, I say that the woman who could speak in that way of a human being, with reference to his temporal and eternal interests, is a woman who would cut up a child for dog's meat or for making manure."[4]

This 1864 Act, which forbade any master sweep employing a

[1] *Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee of H. of L. to Enquire into . . . Regulations contained in the Chimney Sweepers' Regulation Act Amendment Bill*, 54.

[2] In this debate Shaftesbury declared there were still "four thousand wretched children" employed as sweeps (Hodder, iii. 154).

[3] *First Report of Children's Employment Commission*, 1863. Kingsley's *Water Babies*, published that year, strengthened the Commission's revelation.

[4] H. of L., June 3, 1864.

child under ten, except on his own premises, and prohibited any assistant, under sixteen, from entering a house where chimneys were being swept, was carried without difficulty. But Shaftesbury, remembering too well the fierce opposition to all previous legislation, had not made enforcement provisions strong enough to compel obedience: [1] and, two years later, the Children's Employment Commission, in their Fifth Report, drew attention to a prevalent defiance of this law. It was all too obvious, therefore, that not yet was there sufficient unanimity of sentiment to inspire national respect for any legislation designed to emancipate the little sweep from the clutches of bigotry. Hoary-headed Prejudice still claimed these innocents as his prey.

Shaftesbury was much grieved at this open defiance of law; but he realized that nothing further could be accomplished until a stronger public sentiment had been created. In 1872, however, the time seemed opportune for a new advance. Part of Shaftesbury's Diary, October 9th of that year, reads: "Years of oppression and cruelty have rolled on, and now a death has given me the power of one more appeal to the public through *The Times*." The death in question was that of a boy seven years old, who, fifteen minutes after entering a Staffordshire flue, was taken out a corpse. The Earl's appeal, however, failed to create the necessary enthusiasm; and next year, in the Lords, he laid bare the facts of another equally revolting death. But not yet had the hour of ransom struck. [2]

Finally, in 1875, the suffocation of George Brewster, a boy of fourteen, in a flue at Cambridge, attracted considerable attention; and Shaftesbury again set to work. In February he laid the whole issue before Parliament, and called for immediate action. At last the press took up his call. Referring to the Brewster case, *The Times* contended that though the offence was technically called manslaughter, morally it was murder: "Whoever deliberately authorized and permitted the employment of this unfortunate boy, are morally guilty of the crime of murder." [3]

[1] Nevertheless, in cases where a person under twenty-one was sent up a chimney, this Act empowered magistrates to impose "imprisonment, for a term not exceeding six months" (27 and 28 Vict., cap. 37, clause 9).

[2] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 80.

[3] *The Times*, March 25, 1875 (column and a half editorial): letter from John Hawker, March 26th; and one from Shaftesbury, March 29th, in which he says: "It is simply monstrous that, to suit the parsimony, the indolence or the obstinacy of proprietors, magistrates and master-sweeps, this inhuman and degrading servitude should be permitted, by connivance, in this age and country."

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Other papers also took up the strain, and Shaftesbury himself spared no trouble in writing to all quarters where sympathy could be stirred. Results justified his long-protracted endeavours: for when, in April 1875, he gave notice of a new and rigid Bill,[1] it was a foregone conclusion that victory was now within reach.

"One hundred and two years have elapsed," he wrote on April 28, 1875, "since the good Jonas Hanway brought this brutal iniquity before the public, yet in many parts of England and Ireland it still prevails, with the full knowledge and consent of thousands of all classes."[2] Yes, for more than a century this barbarism defied all efforts at reform; but now it was plucked up root and branch. On June 4th, in exultant spirits, Shaftesbury exclaimed: "By God's blessing, Chimney Sweepers' Bill passed through Committee of House of Lords in the twinkling of an eye—not a syllable uttered."[3] Mr. R. A. Cross, Disraeli's Home Secretary, piloted the Bill through the Commons; and there too it passed without opposition, and shorn of none of its strength.

Instructed by past failures, and availing himself of the wave of popular support, Shaftesbury now made certain that the law would be effective. Hence this 1875 Act left no loopholes. It compelled every master sweep to procure an annual and revokable licence; while also it placed upon the police direct responsibility for law enforcement. Consequently, under this Act, the little sweep finally procured a bill of ransom; and henceforth he was known to British civilization only through the annals of a bygone age.[4]

To the importance of Shaftesbury's labours for climbing boys Mr. and Mrs. Hammond pay striking tribute: "Had he done nothing else in the course of his long life, he would have lived in history by this record alone."[5] But more striking, and more spontaneous, is a tribute from a strangely different source. Years after the sweeps were emancipated, a reference to Shaftesbury at a public meeting incited thunderous applause. The speaker was amazed. "What do you know about Shaftesbury?" he inquired. Instantly a man arose, and exclaimed: "Know

[1] H. of L., May 11, 1875, for important statement on Second Reading of this Bill. Here Shaftesbury referred to chimney-sweepers' history as opening up a "*Chamber of Horrors.*"

[2] Hodder, iii. 158; Scotland had enforced previous legislation.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] 38 and 39 Vict., cap. 70, especially clauses 5, 6, 7 and 21.

[5] *Lord Shaftesbury*, 236.

of him? Why, sir, I'm a chimbley sweeper, and what did he do for me? Didn't he pass the Bill? Why, when I was a little 'un, sir, I had to go up chimbleys, and many a time I've come down with bleedin' feet and knees, and a 'most chokin'. And he passed the Bill and saved us from all that. *That's* what I know, sir, of Lord Shaftesbury." [1]

6. Labours for India.

It will be remembered that, in 1828, when Wellington assumed the reins of Government, Ashley became a Commissioner of the India Board of Control; and although this Administration lasted but two years, Ashley took his duties seriously and, acquiring much information regarding India, maintained till the end of his days a lively interest in that country. For the scientific development of Indian agriculture, by aid of irrigation, and for the inauguration of a system of navigation, opening world markets to Indian produce, he never ceased to agitate. Indeed, he contended that only by such endeavours for the "contentment and happiness" [2] of the Indian people could Britain justify her rule over that vast domain.[3] Again, in relation to such barbarous practices as Sutteeism, and financing the Indian Government by forcing the opium traffic on China,[4] Shaftesbury would hear of no compromise. These practices, he believed, were running sores on the body politic requiring drastic remedies; and drastic remedies he was prepared to apply.

In his speech before the Lords, July 5, 1861, on "Indian Irrigation and Inland Navigation," we get a glimpse at his statesmanlike policy toward Indian problems. Directing attention to great irrigation schemes wrought by "the enlightened intelligence of Indian princes, whom we are accustomed to style barbarians," [5] he drew the emphatic inference that Britain, with all her superior science, had no business whatever to interfere in Indian affairs unless, by intervention, she accomplished more for the welfare of India than could possibly be accomplished by the rule of native princes. "Until you Christians came among

[1] *S. as Soc. Ref.*, 82.

[2] *Speeches*, 356.

[3] It was in this spirit of stewardship, as contrasted with that of power, that Shaftesbury, in 1876, opposed the Queen's acceptance of the title, "Empress of India."

[4] See chapter xx; Hodder, i. 463–4.

[5] *Speeches*, 341

us we never had anything of this kind," said an Indian to a Christian missionary, in gratitude for social improvements wrought by missionary endeavour. Of such a nature, Shaftesbury contended, must be the work of British Government; and then the Indian people, instead of being "a senile, down-trodden race," would soon be "able to assert their rights, . . . and to stand erect in the dignity of free men." British science and industry, therefore, in *all* its branches, should be placed ungrudgingly at India's service; but in the case of irrigation and transportation the call for such investment was imperative. "It would more than double the revenue, and quadruple the comforts of the people"; while, also, it would be a safeguard against draught, famine and floods. But, as a tireless worker for the abolition of slavery in America, Shaftesbury raised another and significant argument. The scientific development of cotton plantations in India, he contended, would deliver England from "that incubus on the hearts of hundreds of thousands—the necessity of purchasing the produce of *slave* labour"; while also, it would teach America that the cotton industry could be profitably run by the unshackled endeavours of *free* men.[1]

"By the conquest—no doubt the beneficial conquest—of the country," said Shaftesbury, "we have torn from the natives all means of improving their own financial condition, of regulating their own internal concerns, or of advancing, unaided, their own interests. *Our duty, then, is clear.*" The mere statement of this fact, the Earl believed, pointed its own moral. British rule in India, if justified, must be a stewardship. It must turn all its powers of science, initiative and invention to the "high and beneficent purpose" of bettering the conditions of the whole populace of that peninsula.[2]

It was under this overpowering sense of Britain's responsible stewardship that Shaftesbury, as an old man, turned to his last great industrial endeavour—procuring a Factory Act for the women, children and young persons of India. The necessity for such legislation was urgent; for cruel as were early conditions of factory labour in Britain, those now prevailing in India were worse, because in that country there was no religious sanction

[1] This speech was made shortly after the outbreak of America's Civil War, but before the battle of Bull Run, the first important encounter.

[2] The speech is heavily loaded with data, and exhibits Shaftesbury's ability to deal accurately with minute details (H. of L., July 5, 1861).

establishing one day of rest in seven,[1] or proclaiming the sanctity of personality, independent of social status or caste ; and besides, India's intense heat made long hours of toil more oppressive than ever they were in England. On various occasions, therefore, and " under successive Governments, Shaftesbury called attention to the cruel system in operation in the Bombay factories, but without tangible effect."[2] Finally, however, in April 1879, a powerful speech in the Lords won for him the victory he had long coveted.

On this occasion Shaftesbury moved " that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to instruct the Viceroy of India to take into immediate consideration the necessity of passing a law for regulating the labour of women and children in the mills and factories throughout Her Dominions in India."[3] When this speech was made, the veteran reformer was afflicted with precarious health, yet by sheer strength of purpose he nerved himself for his task,[4] and how well he performed it may be judged from the fact that this endeavour will suffer little, if anything, by comparison with his best orations on kindred subjects nearly half a century before. The evidence brought forward was irrefutable. Women and tiny children were being worked by native proprietors in an atmosphere of from 90 to 95 degrees Fahrenheit for eleven to sixteen hours a day, the only break in their toil being a noon-day intermission of fifteen to thirty minutes, allowed for refreshments.[5] Cleanliness and sanitation, moreover, were given no consideration in many Indian mills. The evidence of a certain " practical man " whom the Earl quoted is here suggestive : " I paid a visit to a large spinning and weaving mill, where some 2,500 hands are employed. The machinery was enveloped in cotton fluff, and appeared never to have been cleaned for years. Mr. B. informed me that such was the case. . . . I asked if two or three hours per week

[1] " There is no seventh day of rest, nor half-holiday every Saturday as with us ; a Sunday now and then is taken, but it is for cleaning the machinery, not for the cessation of labour. . . . The Hindoo holidays are about fourteen in the year " (Hansard, 3rd series, ccxlv. 350.

[2] Hodder, iii. 405.

[3] H. of L., April 4, 1879.

[4] In his Diary, March 29, 1879, Shaftesbury speaks of his lost buoyancy and uncertain health ; but purpose bore him up : " Indian children must be pleaded for before a hostile Ministry and an unsympathizing House."

[5] Miss Carpenter, whom Shaftesbury quoted, showed that, in certain seasons, daily hours of toil were as high as sixteen.

could not, to the benefit of the machinery, be set apart for general cleaning up? 'Oh, yes,' replied my guide; 'but the native proprietors would look upon it as a dead loss of time.' Sunday and week-day, rain or sunshine, the continual grind went on without intermission from one year's end to another. Flesh and blood, coal and steam—it is all one to the Native mill-owner! Get as much out of them as you can is their way." [1]

In 1875, as the result of pressure exercised by Shaftesbury and other humanitarians, a Commission was appointed to investigate factory labour in Bombay; but although these factories were under no restrictions whatever as to hours of labour, the age of children employed, the safeguarding of machinery, or conditions of sanitation, nevertheless the Commission opposed legislation. Shaftesbury, however, now brought forward much data to show that this Commission had been scandalously conducted, that it was composed, almost exclusively, of interested parties, and that it even stooped to intimidate witnesses. Mr. Aspin, for five years manager of Bombay's largest mill, declared that: "A more unfairly conducted investigation was never made. Every member of that Commission was more or less financially interested in the Indian mills, and every witness brought before them was more or less intimidated, a catechism being actually prepared by the employers for the operatives, and the medical evidence being given by persons who were holders of mill shares." The testimony of Dr. Blaney, himself a Commissioner, is on this score conclusive: "Mr. Arbuthnot, the Chairman, and I were in favour of legislation, the others were adverse to it; but they were all pecuniarily interested in the local mill industry."

Having exposed this 1875 Commission, Shaftesbury pressed the need of Government interference: "On what principle, or on what theory, is India to be exempted from the duties and obligations of civilized society?" But, proceeding, all the fiery energy of earlier days leaped forth in brilliant blaze. The Earl's life was ever marked by tenderness and chivalry toward all honourable womanhood, independent of rank or station: hence his soul revolted at the thought of Indian mothers drudging long hours in stifling mills,[2] while their husbands revelled in

[1] Hansard, 3rd series, ccxlv. 354.

[2] Shaftesbury produced evidence that some Indian mothers had to bring suckling babies to the mills, and lay them under the looms as they plied their work (Hansard, April 4, 1879).

laziness on their hard-earned pay. His demand, therefore, for Government protection, he maintained, was simply asserting " a principle which is sound and applicable at all times and in all places, from North to South, from East to West, to every spot of the earth wherever man is found, and claims for his fellow-men his inherent and inalienable right." " What care," asked Shaftesbury, " is more important than that of the physical and social condition of the actual generation, and of those who are to be the parents of generations to come ? The system is as yet in its infancy, and may easily be controlled ; but allow it to acquire much larger proportions and it will put you at defiance. Of all the classes that toil for livelihood there is none so helpless, friendless and subdued as those wretched women. They are doubly slaves—slaves to the mill-owners and slaves to their husbands, who, disregarding their suffering, revel at ease in their hard-won earnings. They have no public opinion on their behalf—no press, no paid or voluntary agitators. In their distress they lift up their eyes to the Imperial Parliament ; and shall it be replied, my Lords, that ' on the side of their oppressors there was power, but that the oppressed had no comforter ' ? Heaven forbid such an issue ! Forty-six years ago I addressed the House of Commons in a kindred appeal and they heard me ; I now turn to your Lordships, and I implore you in the same spirit, for God's sake, and in His name, to have mercy on the children of India." [1]

This plea was not in vain. Viscount Cranbrook, replying for the Government, promised that every support would be given by the Ministry to a Factory Bill, then under consideration by the Indian Legislature ; [2] and a little later a measure was passed, placing Indian factories under legislation. This enactment, however, was of limited value, for having no religious sanction and little public opinion behind it, its provisions were impossible of enforcement. Nevertheless, it served as a herald of better days to come, and, incidentally, it proved that Shaftesbury's passion for social justice had only grown the keener after more than half a century of Parliamentary struggle.

[1] H. of L., April 4, 1879, 378.

[2] Shaftesbury, consequently, refrained from dividing the House, and withdrew his motion.

CHAPTER XX

SHAFTESBURY AND THE OPIUM TRAFFIC

ABOUT 1775 [1] Warren Hastings, as Governor General of British India, and President of the Council of the East India Company, laid down a "Machiavellian and conscienceless" principle in defence of the opium traffic, as then conducted under protection of the British flag. That principle is a good illustration of how a Governor, or Legislature, may resort to a system of *double-standard morality* to justify the raising of revenue by encouraging vice. Hastings's dictum reads: "Opium is not a necessity of life, but a pernicious article of luxury which ought not to be permitted, except for purposes of *foreign* commerce only, and which the wisdom of the Government should carefully restrain from *internal* consumption." [2]

In this frank expression of nationalistic casuistry, we catch a glimpse of the spirit dominating the Indian opium traffic: for if the whole truth be told, it must be admitted that the attitude of the East India Company, and indeed of the Indian Government, toward opium smuggling into China forms at once the most mercenary and humiliating chapter in the history of our Empire. It would be unfair, however, to the memory of Hastings to assume that he established this traffic. As a matter of fact a considerable trade in opium was being carried on between India and China before ever he set foot on Indian soil. This much, nevertheless, must be admitted: Hastings was chief instrument in securing for the East India Company a monopoly of that traffic, and he took special steps to organize it as a source of Government revenue.

[1] *British Bulletin of Society for Suppression of Opium Traffic*, April 1923, prints date of dictum, 1735; obviously this is a misprint, for Hastings was then only three years old.

[2] Speech by Bishop Brent at Geneva, *British Bulletin*, April 1923. In long article on Hastings in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, opium traffic is only briefly referred to, and Hastings's conduct is, by inference, defended

So, therefore, under the protection of Britain's flag, and as a source of revenue for British Government, this drug traffic was encouraged, and Chinese Emperors found themselves impotent to suppress the curse. Edict after edict was issued by the Chinese Legislature prohibiting all traffic in opium,[1] but officials of the East India Company, and of the Indian Government, paying no respect either to the laws or desires of the Chinese, only spurred on the traffic to greater activity, thus drawing increased revenue in proportion to increased devastation. Edwin Hodder says : " Vainly have the best and wisest Chinese statesmen opposed the introduction of the pernicious drug ; English Ministers were determined that the resources of our Indian Empire should not be curtailed, and did not scruple to secure, by fire and sword, the maintenance of an unholy traffic." [2] By fire and sword ! Strong words ! but not too strong to represent the facts : for abundant evidence proves that desperate fellows plying vessels armed with guns supplied directly from British Government arsenals, and flying the proud Union Jack, resorted to all the horrors of piracy to force their contraband drug on China's ill-protected shores.[3] Indeed, few incidents in modern history appear meaner than this prostitution of State power to mercenary ends. Bribery and corruption were resorted to on wholesale scale ; high-powered opium cutters were constructed after the model of British Government boats ; and, adding to the deception, they too, fired morning and evening guns.[4] Chinese officials, moreover, were either corrupted or shot at ; while lawless ruffians, once at least, were compensated from coffers of the East India Company for seizure, by Chinese officials, of their contraband cargo : even the expedient of burning Chinese villages was not left untried.

Shameless hypocrisy too, was part of the stock in trade whereby this corruption was carried on : [5] Hodder points out that directors of the East India Company in London " did not fail *formally* to prohibit the importation of opium into China

[1] Specially strong edicts were published in 1796.
[2] Hodder, i. 463.
[3] H. of C., April 4, 1843 ; Hodder, i. 463–5.
[4] *Tracts on Trade* (1843) ; Ashley, " Suppression of the Opium Trade," 31–2.
[5] The fact that other nations were mixed up in this smuggling does not minimize Britain's major blame. But, in fairness, it must be remembered that not a few officials, both of the East India Company and the Government, were sternly opposed to the whole traffic. Some of them supplied Shaftesbury with evidence for his attacks.

against the wishes of its rulers." "Again and again," he reminds us, "they advised against all illicit trade, but they calmly pocketed the proceeds, and spurred on their officials to increase the revenue. In one dispatch, after condemning 'illicit trade' they suggested a means of opening new markets for opium in the Eastern part of China." [1]

With this growing menace at their doors, Chinese rulers became exasperated beyond endurance. Every edict they issued had been violated, and every remonstrance passed unheeded. The Government, consequently, saw its citizenship being openly degraded; and by submission it was only proclaiming itself impotent to resist the menace. Bold steps therefore became imperative: and finally, at the Emperor's command, bold steps were taken. In 1839, Commissioner Lin went down to Canton, and there performed an act which made the "Boston Tea Party," of Revolutionary fame, look small indeed.[2] Investigating conditions in Canton, he discovered 20,000 chests of smuggled opium, valued at £3,000,000: and, to protect his countrymen from this pestilence, he had it all dumped into the sea. The result was that Britain, declaring war, stormed China's ports.[3] Consequently the Celestial Empire, having little or no means of military resistance, was forced in 1842 to sign the humiliating Treaty of Nankin. In this atrocious document no reference whatever was made to the opium question which caused the war; while, on the other hand, Hong Kong was taken over as a British possession; twenty-one million dollars were extracted from the Chinese in reparations; and five ports were forced open to British trade.[4]

At this juncture Ashley, urged on by Evangelical support, entered the arena as denouncer of his country's tyranny and champion of open-handed justice toward China. From the time of this First Opium War, therefore, we may pursue our subject in the light of his endeavours. An undated Diary entry, 1842, reads: "China and Afghanistan[5] remit to us by every mail fresh accounts of useless successes and indelible disgrace. The

[1] *Op. cit.*, i. 464.

[2] It will be remembered that a shipment of English tea was thrown into Boston harbour as a protest against what the Colonists (themselves mostly Englishmen) considered arbitrary taxation.

[3] During this war the Emperor's summer palace was burned to the ground (Lucy Taylor, *op. cit.*, 96).

[4] Hodder, i. 465.

[5] There is abundant evidence that Shaftesbury believed the Afghan War almost as iniquitous as the Opium Wars.

wretched inhabitants and soldiery of that unintelligible empire are mowed down with as little resistance, as grass for the oven; the narratives of Captain Bingham's work are the records of an abattoir." Again, on November 15th following, he gives full expression to his feelings: "And *this* is the way to recommend Christianity to the Orientals? Timour and Nadir Shah did more for Mahometanism." [1] A week later he wrote: "Intelligence of great successes in China, and consequent peace; I rejoice in peace; I rejoice that this cruel and debasing war is terminated; but I cannot rejoice, it may be unpatriotic, it may be un-British, I cannot rejoice in our successes, we have triumphed in one of the most lawless, unnecessary and unfair struggles in History; it was a war on which good men could not invoke the favour of Heaven, and Christians have shed more Heathen blood in two years than the Heathens have shed of Christian blood in two centuries! I tremble the more because I feel assured that vengeance will come in some terrible shape; these sins will not remain unpunished; failure might have mitigated our retribution, but success will prove our ruin." [2] On the 25th of the same month Ashley added another significant entry: "The whole world is intoxicated with the prospect of Chinese trade. Altars to mammon are rising on every side, and thousands of cotton children will be sacrificed to his honour. What can be more disgusting than the total oblivion of all causes, modes and results of these wars, in the foresight and forehope of large profits? . . . The peace too is as wicked as the war! We refuse, even now to give the Emperor of China relief on the matter of the opium trade." [3]

Eleven weeks later, February 13, 1843, Samuel Gurney and Mr. W. Fry, son of Elizabeth Fry, called on Ashley and urged him, on the grounds of "national morality and religion" to expose the whole opium conspiracy on the floor of the Commons. As may be judged from Ashley's Diary entries, he was in perfect sympathy with this request. His only reason for hesitation was distrust of his ability to render effective leadership. Finally, however, he consented to do his best; and immediately devoting

[1] Hodder, i. 440. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 441.

[3] *Ibid.* *Letters and Journal of Lord Elgin* (James Bruce), who, in 1857, was sent to conduct operations against China, throw considerable light on Britain's sins, and, incidentally, show that Elgin was thoroughly ashamed of his task: "It is impossible to read the Blue Books without feeling that we have often acted toward the Chinese in a manner which it is very difficult to justify" (185).

himself to study, on April 4, 1843, in a three hours' speech, he made the first great exposure of the opium scandal that Parliament had heard: and although more than eight decades have now rolled on since the delivery of this speech, and the disgrace of the opium traffic still remains a foul stain on our Empire, nevertheless, it is doubtful if any repudiation, from that day till this is more irresistible than Shaftesbury's first onslaught in 1843.

Prior to his speech, Ashley laid before the House three petitions. These came from the Wesleyan, Baptist and London Missionary Societies; and showed that Evangelicals at least were solidly behind the demand for abolishing this baneful traffic.[1] Then, attacking his subject, Ashley said, the nation had arrived at the conclusion of a sad war; "and yet the causes of war were more ripe than ever." He was influenced by no animosity toward the East India Company; the guilt of the opium traffic was shared "by the Legislature and the whole nation," because in 1832 the Commons, of which he himself was a Member, had sanctioned the revenue derived from this trade, at the same time "commending the production of the drug and actually approving its destination."[2] But passing from the problem of how and where to apportion blame, Ashley proceeded immediately to an exposure of consequences. Quoting Captain Elliot, a British superintendent of trade in Canton, he said: "The deliveries of opium have frequently been accompanied by conflict of arms between those (British smuggling boats) and the Government (Chinese) preventive craft." Indeed, Elliot admitted that he could see little to choose between opium smuggling and piracy.[3] Other persons of broad experience had arrived at similar conclusions. A British merchant in Canton writing in September 1841 declared: "At Whampoa (the port of Canton) there are no less than seven opium vessels, selling openly, day and night. . . . The character and behaviour of

[1] The prejudice of *official* England against Evangelical "enthusiasts" is one of the ironies of History. Though this religious party established the Sunday School and laid the foundations of popular education, though they reformed the prison system and forced an ethical outlook even in the manners of smart and titled society; though they started a world missionary crusade and shook the foundations of English insularity; though Wesley died in 1791 and Evangelical "enthusiasm" had abolished the Slave Trade by 1807, nevertheless it was not till 1815 that the first Evangelical Bishop was appointed, and he (Ryder) had strong family influence (W. L. Mathieson, *English Church Reform, 1815–40* (1923), 14).

[2] *Tracts on Trade* (1843): Lord Ashley, *Suppression of Opium Trade*, 4.

[3] *Suppression of Opium Trade*, 7–10.

some of the scoundrels who command them is hardly a grade better than that of a pirate or slave captain. The provincial Government of Canton is now perfectly helpless in regard to them." [1]

To Shaftesbury, this trade ate at the vitals of the Empire's life, and even threatened Christendom: "The nefarious traffic has retarded the progress of Christianity and impeded the civilization of mankind." A Chinaman, addressing an English missionary, gave terse expression to this truth: "You tell us fine things certainly; but the things you say and the things your countrymen do, are so little in keeping, that we cannot listen to you." A Calcutta native, after referring to the "murder and plunder" associated with smuggling, exclaimed: "Good God, will it be hereafter believed that British merchants, in the nineteenth century, could, in the face of the world, without a cloak, and without a blush, engage in such a nefarious and piratical adventure for the sordid love of pelf? And yet no voice is raised save that which is heard from the pulpit, against this murderous expedition." [2] A letter dated December 31, 1839, from a British merchant in Bombay, proved that the *Lady Grant*, a smuggling clipper flying the Union Jack, had set out from Singapore laden with 700 chests of opium, armed with twelve guns, and carrying a crew of fifty-five men. A communication from Hong Kong, which Ashley read, showed that a smuggling vessel had arrived from Calcutta "carrying eighteen guns and forty Europeans, besides her Lascar crew." Another craft, the *Sir Edward Ryan*, was plying her traffic "with a full cargo, and fully armed and manned by a set of desperate fellows who burn and destroy everything that comes in the way of their disposing of their opium." Little wonder then that Shaftesbury, commenting on these conditions, grew warm: "The conduct is worthy of its origin; as it begins, so it continues and so it ends, in fraud, violence and oppression." [3]

Yet the shame of the traffic did not stop here. The whole business of cultivating the opium poppy in India, Shaftesbury declared, was—"effected by Government advances and under Government control. But this is not all; not only is the Supreme Government of India desirous to encourage and extend the growth of this pernicious drug, but they take great and minute

[1] *Suppression of Opium Trade*, 12–13.
[2] *Ibid.*, 26, 30.
[3] *Op. cit.*, 29.

care . . . to study the taste of their customers, and pander to the vitiated palates of the Chinese, and inflame the temptation so as to ensure an ample demand." The demoralizing effect of this traffic is indirectly illustrated by Mr. Jardine, who, in May 1840, was examined by a Parliamentary Committee. Asked " whether the Europeans engaged in the trade were not aware of the moral objection," he replied: " When the East India Company were growing and selling opium, and there was a declaration in the Houses of Lords and Commons, *with all the bench of bishops at their back*, that it was inexpedient to do away with the trade, I think *our* moral scruples need not have been so very great." [1]

Another feature of the traffic, which Ashley emphasized, was that it stood as the greatest barrier to all legitimate commerce between the British Empire and China. Figures indicating the trade between India and China are suggestive. In 1817–18 imports of raw cotton and sundries from India into China were £2,032,625, while those of opium were only £737,775. Five years later cotton imports had shrunk to less than half (£984,812), while, contrariwise, opium imports more than trebled (£2,332,250). After another five years, 1827–8, cotton imports were still down to £1,150,537, while opium imports had risen to £2,810,874. And so the shameful process continued until, by 1840, cotton imports were only £1,000,000, but opium imports £4,000,000. Thus, obviously, opium was rapidly driving legitimate Indian commerce out of Chinese markets; and, likewise, honest English trade was suffering the same fate, for more and more was smuggled opium becoming the stable exchange for Chinese tea, silver, silk, spices and other legitimate commodities of commerce: [2] " The number of chests of opium imported into China, from 1803 to 1808, was, on the yearly average about 4,000; the number of pieces of woollen goods, 297,388; whereas in 1839, the number of chests of opium was 40,000, and the number of pieces of woollen goods, 156,535." [3]

But before Ashley resumed his seat his argument was exhaustive. Britain was smearing her honour, and crucifying her soul for gold; fertile districts in India were being robbed of previous crops of sugar, potatoes, rice, etc., and forced to

[1] *Suppression of Opium Trade*, 34–5.

[2] Remembering these facts, it is scarcely surprising that China waxed hot in animosity toward foreigners, particularly Englishmen.

[3] *Suppression of Opium Trade*, 17–18.

cultivate a poisonous drug instead; honourable commerce was being submerged by the rising tide of opium; lawless criminals were being sheltered under the Union Jack; the wiles of smuggler and pirate were being placed at a premium over justice; bribery and corruption were allowed to trample over integrity and honour; armed might was being substituted for moral right. British Government arsenals were being used as smugglers' rendezvous; while simultaneously, the fabric of civilization was being made to stink in Chinese nostrils. The whole situation, Ashley demonstrated to be intolerable—monstrous. But approaching his conclusion the argument was unanswerable. Quoting a description of Canton opium dens by Mr. Squire, an English agent of the Church Missionary Society in China, he said: "Never, perhaps, was there a nearer approach to hell upon earth than within the precincts of these vile hovels. . . . Here every gradation of excitement and depression may be witnessed. Truly it is an engine in Satan's hands, and a powerful one; but let it never be forgotten, that a nation professing Christianity supplies the means; and further, that that nation is England, through her possessions in Hindustan."[1] The evidence of Rev. Howard Malcolm, an American resident in China, is still more emphatic: "We have little reason to wonder at the reluctance of China to extend her intercourse with foreigners; nearly the whole of such intercourse brings upon her pestilence, poverty, crime and disturbance. No person can describe the horrors of the opium trade." Then followed a significant remark: "That the Government of British India should be the prime abettors of this abominable traffic, is one of the grand wonders of the nineteenth century. The proud escutcheon of the nation which declaimed against the slave trade, is made to bear a blot broader and darker than any other in the Christian world."

The effect of this traffic on the mind of the Chinese is illustrated by an imperial edict, issued in 1836, against Christianity. Never before that date had an anti-Christian proclamation been circulated by the Chinese Government. This edict, however, was emphatic; it runs: "To spread the Christian religion is to deceive the people; that religion is, in fact, the ruin of morals and of the human heart. Why do you believe fables which only destroy the human heart? Why do you seek vile gain, and thus

[1] *Op. cit.*, 36.

procure your destruction?"[1] This proclamation cut Shaftesbury to the quick: "When I read that edict I solemnly declare, it conveyed to my mind a feeling of horror I had never before experienced. I felt that by the unprincipled acts of our Government toward that people, we had made the 'name of God to be blasphemed among the heathen.'"[2] So warm, at this time, was Chinese resentment, particularly against England, that the Baptist Missionary Society found it expedient to work through American missions: less than a week before Ashley raised the opium question in Parliament, that Society voted £500 "to be put at the disposal of American missionaries for the propagation of the Gospel in China." "Public feeling in China," said Ashley, "was so strong against the English that if the missionaries hoped to work at all, it must be through America, which had kept aloof, in a great degree, from this disgraceful traffic." Commenting on this incident, Shaftesbury exclaimed: "So, Sir, it has come to this, that England, which professes to be the head of Christian nations, is precluded by her own immoral conduct from sending her own missionaries to that part of the world which she herself has opened for the advancement of civilization and the enlightenment of Christianity."[3]

On abundant evidence, therefore, having anticipated the arguments against his proposals, Ashley urged that the opium monopoly be broken,[4] that the cultivation of this drug in India be prohibited, and that steps be taken to have the whole traffic suppressed. His motion reads: "That it is the opinion of this House, that the continuance of the trade in opium, and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India, are destructive of all relations of amity between England and China, injurious to the manufacturing interests of the country, by the serious diminution of legitimate commerce, and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian Kingdom;

[1] All opium seized by Chinese Government was destroyed; their hands, therefore, were clean (Hansard, April 4, 1843).

[2] H. of C., April 4, 1843.

[3] The inconsistency of the East India Company's conduct is illustrated by a treaty they formed with the King of Siam; for, while resorting to the basest means of smuggling opium into China, it suited their interests to adopt a totally different course towards Siam. Part of this treaty reads: "Merchants are forbidden to bring opium, which is positively a contraband article, into the territories of Siam, and should a merchant introduce any, the Governor shall seize him, and destroy the whole of it" (*op. cit.*, 47).

[4] Hansard, April 4, 1843, 405.

and that steps be taken as soon as possible, with due regard to the rights of Governments and individuals, to abolish the evil." [1]

But, reaching his peroration, Shaftesbury put his argument with peculiar force: "Now, Sir, let us make the case our own. What would be said if any other nation were to treat us as we treat the Chinese? What would be said in this country, and what an amount of just indignation there would be in this House, if we were told that French buccaneers were ravaging our coasts, defying our laws, and murdering our fellow-subjects! Should we venture to act thus towards any other State that was bold enough, and strong enough, to make reprisals upon us? Certainly not. And in admitting this we admit that our conduct towards the Chinese is governed by our pride and our power, and not by our estimate of justice." [2] In a last paragraph Shaftesbury dared be bolder still: for now he stripped the case to the bone, and pointed Members' attention to venomous cancer roots, corrupting the body-politic: "Sir, the condition of this Empire does demand a most deep and solemn consideration; within and without we are hollow and insecure . . . with one arm resting on the East, and the other on the West, we are in too many instances trampling under foot every moral and religious obligation. . . . If this is to be the course of our future policy; if thus we are to exercise our arts and our arms, our science and our superiority of knowledge over the world—if all these are to be turned to the injury and not to the advantage of mankind, I should much prefer that we should shrink within the proportions of our public virtue, and descend to the level of a third-rate power." But Ashley prayed for better things: in a final sentence of ringing appeal, he called on the nation to marshal its energies into harmony with the "one great end of existence, 'Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, good will toward men.'" [3]

Ashley's speech and the debate following were the only business conducted by the Commons on April 4, 1843; yet it was 2 a.m. before the House adjourned. The debate is of special interest, for it provides peculiar illustration of how Parliament could juggle moral values, to defend vested interests. The chief argument in defence of the traffic, and one reiterated

[1] Debate thoroughly established the fact that Indian opium was useless for medicinal purposes. Even the opium used medicinally in India itself was imported from Turkey.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 52.

[3] *Ibid.*, 55.

to the last degree of monotony, was that opium-smoking is really less harmful than the consumption of alcoholic beverages; and as no sane person would recommend the prohibition of intoxicating drink, it therefore would be false enthusiasm, if not fanaticism, to adopt such a course in the case of opium. Brotherton started the debate, and, as might be surmised from his record in the Ten Hours fight, he tendered Ashley "cordial support." Mr. W. B. Baring following, provided a foretaste of much later argument. The suppression of opium-growing in India was impracticable, he contended, because Mohammedans used opium as their "only permitted stimulant." All talk of prohibition, therefore, was out of the question, and "the only remedy for the evil" was "for the Emperor to legalize the trade."[1] The puerility of this argument is seen when we remember, first that Mohammedans have always looked upon consumers of opium, in any form, with contempt, and secondly, that nearly all Indian opium was smuggled into China, where the number of Mohammedans was negligible.

Sir George Stanton, in turn, spoke of "violent and unjustifiable outrage on the part of Chinese authorities," and declared that British opium traders were "entitled to full, fair, and entire indemnification" for all confiscated property. Yet, everything considered, he favoured Ashley's motion. Lord Jocelyn, on the other hand, was hotly opposed: "The gin-drinker in this Christian land was equally as great a problem as the opium-smoker in China"; he deplored such evils, but it was impossible to abolish them, for prohibition would only "encourage smuggling to a frightful, uncontrollable and demoralizing extent."[2] Captain Lazard then supported Ashley, and Mr. Hogg made a strong speech in opposition. "From all he had heard and read," Hogg believed: "the use of opium was less fatal to health and less injurious to morality than dram-drinking." "Nevertheless, dram-drinking prevailed more extensively in England than opium-smoking did in China." Hogg then quoted Dr. McPherson, a British army officer in India, to the effect that opium-smoking was universal in China, both among rich and poor; nevertheless, the lower orders of Chinese

[1] The arrogance of this demand is seen when we remember that the Chinese Government had persistently refused to resort to opium as a means of revenue.

[2] Would anyone, for instance, contend that prohibition on opium in England has had these dire consequences?

were " more intelligent, and far superior in *mental* acquirements to those of the corresponding rank in our own country." [1] As to their *physical* condition, McPherson contended that they were a " powerful, muscular and athletic people." Hogg also made it a strong point that, in 1832, a Select Committee reported that: " In the present state of the revenue of India, it does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue, a duty on opium being a tax which falls principally upon the foreign consumer, and which appears upon the whole, less liable to objection than any other which could be substituted." [2] On such evidence, therefore, Hogg declared for legalization of the traffic.[3]

Sir T. E. Colebrooke, following Hogg, hashed up the same arguments in insipid form. Mr. Lindsay came next; and, claiming that Ashley's argument was " greatly exaggerated," he read a letter from a surgeon of the East India Company, declaring that opium " used in moderation was not as bad as dram-drinking," and that it gave rise to no such disgusting scenes as those produced by " ardent spirits." Viscount Sandon, rising next, repudiated Baring's assertion that Mohammedans were permitted to indulge in opium. On the contrary, opium-eaters, he declared, were " looked upon by their fellow Mussulmans with scorn and contempt "; Mohammedans were " no more permitted by their religion to consume opium than they were permitted to consume any other intoxicating liquor." [4] He objected also to sacrificing all legitimate commerce to the opium trade. Sir R. Inglis continuing the debate, declared Ashley's case unanswerable; and he hoped that, without offence, he might express the request that no Member would vote who had not heard it. Moreover, he read a letter recently published in *New York Observer*, taking strong issue with the view that opium was less dangerous than alcohol. The correspondent quoted, writing from Batavia, said: " I visited one of the opium houses, and shall I tell you all I saw in this ante-chamber of hell? I thought it impossible to find anything worse than the results of drinking ardent spirits, but I have succeeded in finding something far worse." [5]

Finally the Prime Minister was compelled to rise, and the

[1] Hansard, April 4, 1843, 443. [2] *Ibid.*, 438.

[3] What " legalization " really meant was that pressure be placed on China to " induce " her to accept such a course.

[4] " Opium Traffic," *Encyclopædia of Social Reform* (1908), emphasizes this same fact.

[5] Hansard April 4, 1843, 460.

casuistry of his speech exhibits Peel in his worst light. He did not wish to offend Ashley and other philanthropists; yet he was determined not to forgo the opium revenue. Consequently he hid behind the cloak, that negotiations of the most delicate nature were then proceeding between the British and Chinese Governments.[1] Would it not, therefore, be most prejudicial to all hopes of agreement to force Ashley's motion to a division? Would not such action defeat the amicable relations between the two countries for which Ashley had pleaded? Surely, at such a moment, the hands of Government should not be tied! The Cabinet were as much interested in an honourable settlement as was his lordship; therefore, as Prime Minister, he urged Ashley to leave the Ministry a free hand. This diplomatic veil, however, did not conceal Peel's real attitude. He expanded upon the low state of Indian finances and urged the inexpediency of sacrificing a prolific income. After all, if India prohibited this trade, would not Chinese demand be supplied elsewhere? If British capital were forced to stop cultivating opium in India, that capital assuredly would migrate to other countries, and carry on the same business there. Surely, too, the monopoly of the East India Company was preferable to a free trade in opium? Again, was not Ashley's motion in open defiance of opinions expressed by Lord Cornwallis and other experts? The English, Peel protested, by flooding India with cheap cotton goods, had already destroyed a flourishing native industry in that commodity. Would they now go farther, and, by prohibiting the growth of opium, interfere with Indian agriculture? thus suppressing a "most safe, most profitable and most healthy" employment · and all for the purpose of expanding England's cotton trade, in the prosecution of which children were employed "for twelve or fourteen hours a day?"[2] But Peel finally turned to the crux of the situation: "Are the honourable Members so very sensitive on the subject of opium?" £8,000,000 to £9,000,000 a year, was derived as revenue from the liquor traffic by the Home Government, and £3,400,000 was raised in taxation from tobacco. Why then, he suggested, should not the opium traffic also be

[1] This statement apparently referred to negotiations resulting in a "Supplementary Treaty," signed Oct. 8, 1843, as an auxiliary to the original Treaty of 1842.

[2] The dishonesty of Peel's argument is illustrated by this statement; for the following year, 1844, when Ashley succeeded in carrying the Commons' vote for a Ten Hours Bill, Peel refused all compromise and threatened to resign, rather than depart from his twelve hours standard.

utilized for revenue? Concluding, Peel said that he "did not ask the House to reject or negative the motion, but to leave it in the hands of the Government." [1]

An astute Parliamentarian, Ashley knew that only one course was now open to him. Peel had stated emphatically that delicate negotiations with the Chinese Government were then pending; he had promised to give Ashley's motion his careful consideration, and he had suggested that forcing a vote would be tantamount to challenging Parliament's confidence in the Government. Ashley, therefore, knowing well that, if under these conditions, he compelled a division, many persons friendly to his cause would vote with the Administration, decided to withdraw his motion.[2] But in doing so he said that, although he had no desire to embarrass the Government's negotiation, nevertheless, he "would certainly have been glad to have heard the opium trade spoken of by his Right Honourable Friend in stronger terms of reprobation." [3] As might be expected, Ashley expressed himself with less restraint in his Diary—the safety-valve for overwrought emotions. The comments, therefore, now made on Peel, it must be remembered, were never intended for publication; and jotted down in great heat, they were unduly harsh. Nevertheless, they are specially interesting when we recall that, on Ashley's entrance to Parliament, Peel, along with Wellington, was his political idol. Part of his entry reads: "Peel was forced to rise at last, and certainly took a line for which I was not prepared. I had expected a fuller condemnation of the traffic and a less positive and contented defence of the East India Monopoly. He *sneered* at our care for the health and morals of the Chinese, and altogether assumed the tone of a low mercantile, financial soul, incapable of conceiving or urging a principle, which finally disgusted me, and placed him in my mind much below the Christian level, and not any higher than the heathen. But as he stated that the negotiations on foot by the Government would be really impeded by such a motion as mine, I of course withdrew it. His speech was shallow and feeble." [4]

[1] Diary, April 7, 1843.

[2] Ashley was strongly criticized by opponents of the traffic for withdrawing his motion. One critic declared him "a well-meaning, amiable sort of man, with no fragment of penetration."

[3] Conclusion of Debate, H. of C., April 4, 1843.

[4] Hodder, i. 476. It will be remembered that Ashley's support in industrial districts had greatly enhanced Peel's success at the polls in 1841.

The Times, while criticizing the *form* of Ashley's motion,[1] warmly commended his endeavour and declared his argument "far more statesmanlike in its ultimate and general views than those by which it was opposed." His speech, that organ pronounced "grave, temperate and practical, well stored with facts, authorities and arguments, and strictly confined to a consideration of those measures, which it might be possible and expedient to take, for the prevention of the growth of opium within the British dominions in India and its importation by British subjects into China." On the other hand, the satire *The Times* poured on Peel, and other Members opposing the motion, reflects a keen analysis of the debate.[2] Its synopsis of the opposing argument was: "That morality and religion, and the happiness of mankind, and friendly relations with China, and new markets for British manufactures, were all very fine things in their way; but that the opium trade was worth to the Indian Government, £1,200,000 a year; and £1,200,000 was a large sum of money, which it would not be easy to make up from any other source without offending somebody in India; and, upon the whole, that we could not afford to buy morality and religion, and the happiness of mankind, and friendly relations with China and new markets for British manufactures, quite so dear." [3]

So the matter ended for 1843. Ashley had succeeded in rousing considerable sentiment against the traffic, but official England could not be induced to release her grip on so lucrative a revenue. Consequently the evil continued to grow, and certain quarters of Hong Kong, to the disgrace of our Empire, became a sort of international rendezvous for pirates, smugglers, tricksters, exploiters and rogues-in-general, desiring to prey on the Chinese. Edwin Hodder thus describes the situation: "The scum and refuse of Europe and Asia hovered about the Chinese waters, or domiciled at Hong Kong as British citizens. Any lawless Chinese could take up his residence there, and procure a colonial register, with liberty to use the British flag." [4] Such conditions wrought endless confusion; finally they became intolerable to

[1] This paper thought the motion too sweeping, and not sufficiently tightly worded (April 6, 1843).

[2] "Black's not so black" is *The Times* caricature of arguments used by opponents.

[3] *The Times*, April 6, 1843. Ashley, comparing the strength of Peel's Government when it came into power (1841) with its condition in 1843, said it was as "Lord Bacon to a baby." He also spoke of Peel's "great reverence for capitalists."

[4] Hodder, *Pop. Ed.*, 539.

Chinese authorities, who saw not a few of their criminal fugitives harboured under the Union Jack.[1]

In 1856 conditions came to a head. Chinese officials, all along the coast, were tantalized by cosmopolitan smugglers flying the British flag and claiming citizenship at Hong Kong; while, most provoking of all, no small proportion of these scoundrels were Chinese refugees from justice. Something, consequently, had to be done; so finally Commissioner Yeh, on October 8th, boarded a boat called the *Arrow*, which, though registered under the British flag, was really a Chinese craft; and from her, after hauling down the Union Jack, he carried off twelve men on a charge of piracy.[2] The British consul forthwith demanded the release of the captured men. The Chinese Government, thereupon, gave up nine of them, but refused at first to surrender the other three, on the ground that they had strong evidence against them. Consequently another war was inflicted upon China (1856–7).[3]

On February 24, 1857, Lord Derby, asserting himself "an advocate of the feeble defencelessness of China against the overpowering might of Great Britain," moved in the Lords a threefold resolution of censure against Palmerston's Government, claiming it had forced another war on China. In the course of his long speech Derby argued that British officials in China had maintained their demands "solely by menace and intimidation." The attitude of Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hong Kong, and other representatives of British Government, he claimed, had, "from the outset," been marked by "the utmost arrogance, the most offensive assumption of superiority, and the grossest discourtesy:"[4] while, as to the proprietorship of the

[1] This was contrary to Article 9 of Supplemental Treaty between Britain and China (1843); for by that Treaty either country was to co-operate with the other in returning escaped criminals (Derby's speech in Lords, Feb. 24, 1857).

[2] Hansard, 3rd Series, cxliv. 1158. Chinese claimed they did not haul down the Union Jack (*ibid.*, 1166).

[3] Cobden's speech, H. of C., Feb. 26, 1857. Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hong Kong, gave China only forty-eight hours to surrender the three men detained, and to render formal apology, along with a pledge of future conduct. Under protest China complied, but the *following day* naval operations were commenced against her. See also *Letters and Journals of Eighth Earl of Elgin* (James Bruce), who occupied the posts of Envoy to China and Viceroy of India. Although in charge of operations against China, Elgin, writing Dec. 24, 1857, says: "Nothing could be more contemptible than the origin of our existing quarrel" (213, also 185 and 209–18).

[4] Some speeches in Lords' Debate were marked by this same spirit. The Earl of Clarendon, for instance, who was responsible for Sir John Bowring's

Arrow, around which the quarrel centred, Derby maintained that although this boat was flying the British flag, it, nevertheless, was "Chinese built, Chinese captured, Chinese sold, Chinese bought and manned, and Chinese owned." "And that," he continued, "is the British merchantman—that is the British vessel which is said to be entitled to claim the protection of a treaty by which British ships are exempted from the visits of the Chinese authorities." [1] This animated debate could not be finished on February 24th, so it was adjourned two days, when it was resumed at almost equal length. Finally, however, on division, although Derby's motion of censure was lost by 36 votes (110 to 146),[2] it was obvious that there existed a strong opposition to British policy in China.[3]

The Government thus escaped defeat in the Lords, but no such fortune awaited it in the Commons. The very day the Lords divided, Cobden introduced a motion expressing lack of confidence in the Government's Chinese policy.[4] For four full days this debate proceeded at concert pitch; [5] and finally, late in the night of March 3, 1857, the Commons divided on Cobden's motion that the Papers laid on the Table "fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the *Arrow*.[6] During the debate Palmerston intimated that he would treat the vote as one of

appointment, suggested the only way to deal with Chinese was "by making them sensible to the law of force." The Earl of Carnarvon, opening "Resumed Debate," Feb. 26th, took strong objection to such an attitude (3rd Series, cxliv. 1311).

[1] *Ibid.*, 1160.

[2] Over half the votes cast were by proxy.

[3] *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin* provide abundant evidence that he was thoroughly unhappy in his task. Referring to the origin of the quarrel, he says: "We cannot look back" (209). "The Chinese," he notes, "do not want to fight, . . . the English do want to fight" (211). Again, in utter disgust, he writes: "I feel that I am earning for myself a place in the Liturgy immediately after 'plague, pestilence and famine'" (112). Another entry, at noon, Dec. 28, 1857, reads: "We have been throwing shells into Canton since 6 a.m. almost without any reply from the town. I hate the whole thing so much that I cannot trust myself to write about it" (214). Still again he speaks suggestively of the "Massacre of the Innocents," and of the "vanity and levity of our rulers"; while, referring to the generous way in which Chinese came to the rescue of a British gunboat in distress, he adds: "Fancy having to fight such a people" (213–14). Indeed, Elgin's *Journals* prove beyond doubt that he was thoroughly ashamed of his country's attitude; he simply tried to make the best of a bad job by reducing destructiveness to what he believed the absolute minimum.

[4] Derby's motion, different from Cobden's, was one of open censure To compare, see Hansard, 3rd Series, cxliv. 1191 and 1421.

[5] J. Morley's *Life of Cobden*, ii. 187–91.

[6] Debate on Cobden's motion occupies some 400 pages in Hansard.

confidence in the Government; nevertheless division showed a majority of 16 in favour of the motion, both Gladstone and Disraeli censuring the Administration in no uncertain terms. Gladstone refused to centre blame on Sir John Bowring. It was rather to the Government's policy that the source of guilt was to be traced. Sir John Bowring, he suggested, had been encouraged to use his best judgment " in choosing the occasion " for opening a quarrel with China, while also, it was understood that he was " to regard himself at liberty to prosecute his design of obtaining entry into Canton, and that in case of need the force of the British fleet was to be available in supporting him in that design." [1] Disraeli, who rather too loudly protested his desire to free debate from all party advantage, was equally emphatic in rebuke. The Government, not Sir John Bowring, he maintained, were the legitimate target of blame; they were by no means blind to the policy Bowring had adopted, and the whole scheme was simply " an attempt by *force* to increase our commercial relations with the East." [2] Cobden, on the contrary, was less lenient to Bowring. Though a personal friend of that gentleman for twenty years, he, nevertheless, felt it his duty to observe that Bowring's report was the " most flagitious public document which had ever been published." [3]

During this Second Chinese War, Shaftesbury's conduct is more open to the charge of inconsistency than at any other time. Though present in the Lords when Derby introduced his motion of censure, he took no part in debate, and voted against the motion. His reasons for this conduct we find in his Diary. Shaftesbury felt strong regrets that this war had been forced on China, but, at the same time, he was convinced that the debates were being utilized primarily for party, rather than humanitarian, or patriotic, ends. The temporary agreement between Gladstone, Disraeli and Russell, backed by such Radicals as Cobden, he believed a sort of conspiracy designed to turn his father-in-law, Palmerston, out of office, and to open new avenues for personal advancement.[4] Then, too, although he came in time to disown all allegiance to the Conservative party, he never quite

[1] Hansard, March 3, 1857, 1789. [2] *Ibid.*, 1836.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1841. Mr. G. Wallas, commenting on the effects of Bowring's utilitarianism, says he " illustrated the doctrine of the ' greatest happiness to the greatest number ' by levying a particularly scandalous war on one-fifth of the human race " (*The Great Society* (1919), 111.)

[4] After defeat, Palmerston dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. He was triumphantly returned.

shook off his Tory prejudices; and the fact that Britain's flag had been hauled down by a foreign Power was to him a cardinal offence. The Diary, however, tells its own story: "February 27th.—China question uppermost in men's minds and on men's tongues. Party spirit governs the whole, and the result is that there is more falsehood, in its various phases and degrees, uttered and felt by every speaker, and on both sides, than occurs in any six weeks of ordinary life! The Chinese are bepraised as innocents, or saints, as patterns of softness, purity, genius, docility, honour—as specimens of what men and nations should be. Does any one being, in this House, believe a ten-millionth fraction of all this? Does anyone believe that if J. Russell had been in Government, he would not have said the reverse of what he did say last night? Does anyone doubt the same of Derby? And does anyone believe that if the members of the Government . . . had been in Opposition, they would not have done and said what has been said and done by Derby and J. Russell. . . . It is a painful question. The Chinese are, doubtless, insolent, irritating, aggressive and false. We, on the other hand, give abundant provocation in the pertinacity and outrage of our opium smuggling.[1] In the present case (I voted with the Government in this sense) we had law and right on our side in the matter of the lorcha;[2] and, even had the right been less clear, the vote proposed—a vote of censure—was extreme."[3]

On March 4, 1857, Shaftesbury entered in his Diary the most compromising utterance of his career: "Government defeated last night on China question by majority of 16. A sad result. Right or wrong, the Government must be supported to bring these matters to a satisfactory close;[4] but now they are crippled in the eyes of the Chinese, and apparently detached from the basis of the country. Such a coalition was, perhaps never before seen or imagined. Cobden, Disraeli and Gladstone, all

[1] Debates, both in Lords and Commons, for or against the Government, dodged the Opium Question as such.

[2] The Speech from the Throne at opening of Parliament, Feb. 3, 1857, contained these words: "Her Majesty commands us to inform you that acts of violence, insults to the flag, and infraction of treaty rights committed by the local Chinese authorities at Canton, and a pertinacious refusal of redress have rendered it necessary for Her Majesty's officers in China to have recourse to measures of force to obtain satisfaction."

[3] Hodder, *Pop. Ed.*, 538.

[4] Memories of national feeling and patriotic zeal during the "World War" make us less harsh in our criticisms of Shaftesbury at this juncture.

combined to turn out Palmerston, and obtain office. J. Russell, ever selfish, came as a unit to the confederacy." [1] But still another motive, subconsciously, influenced Shaftesbury on this occasion. He had unwavering faith in the organized power of practical religion to solve all social problems, and at this time he was acting as "Bishop Maker" for Palmerston; [2] hence, believing a great opportunity for enduring public service had been committed to his trust, he was loath to turn over his commission to other hands: "To my influence over future ecclesiastical appointments, I foresee the termination." [3]

In spite, however, of this inconsistency overshadowing a remarkably consistent career,[4] it must not be imagined that Shaftesbury's opposition to the opium traffic had flagged. Less than a week after the passage of Cobden's motion, he introduced the opium question in the Lords, and the vehemence of his protest proved his zeal unabated. The traffic he pronounced, "one of the most flagitious instances of unscrupulousness in the pursuit of wealth that mankind had ever witnessed;" [5] nevertheless it had been "encouraged and connived at by successive Governments." Reviewing the case, he challenged any Lord to point to a Statute giving the East India Company a right to the opium monopoly.[6] He believed the whole traffic illegal, and asked that the question be brought before the Judges for a verdict. The Lord Chancellor, in reply, objected to this matter being brought before the Judges, but agreed to submitting it to the Law Officers of the Crown, a compromise to which Shaftesbury acceded. Lord Grey then, continuing the debate, objected strongly to smuggling, but raised the old argument: "If alcohol should not be prohibited as a beverage, then why opium?"

But, on this occasion, the most unblushing defence of the traffic came from the Earl of Albemarle. His speech was peculiarly reminiscent of 1843. Claiming it was "the abuse

[1] *Pop. Ed.*, 538.

[2] The phrase was thrown at Shaftesbury by Bishop Wilberforce, who greatly resented his influence over Palmerston.

[3] J. L. and B. Hammond (*Lord Shaftesbury*, 244) draw critical attention to this incident; but, unfortunately, they never once suggest that Shaftesbury so much as raised a finger against the opium traffic.

[4] Shaftesbury's state of mind at this juncture was akin to that of Lord Elgin, described in footnotes above.

[5] Hansard, March 9, 1857, 2028.

[6] Shaftesbury contended the East India Company had exercised the power of monopoly so long that they simply assumed a right to it; and the Government, consequently, hesitated to question their assumption.

and not the use of opium which was pernicious," he contended that this drug differed not at all from " other narcotics with which we are more familiar in England ; namely, ardent spirits, wine, beer or cider." " Drunkenness," the Earl continued, " was the great source of crime in England : yet no one seriously thought of suppressing the use of intoxicating drinks by legislative enactment." Alcohol " incited to crime," whereas opium incapacitated for crime. Under the influence of opium " the victim is useless but not mischievous " ; in the case of alcohol he becomes a social menace. " Thousands consume opium without any pernicious results, as thousands do wine and spirits." [1] Albemarle's casuistry, however, went further still : " If the Chinese could not get opium they would take to ardent spirits and the crimes resulting would increase 10 to 100 .fold." As for smuggling, this noble champion claimed it was a Chinese duty, and not ours, to prevent it ; while as regards prohibition, the mere suggestion savoured of " stupidity." But, heated in argument, the Earl, unwittingly, gave expression to one statement showing conclusively the effects of this smuggling on the Chinese populace. Working men, in various districts of China, he asserted, might now be seen playing with opium balls, whereas, before the British treaty such conduct " would have cost them their heads." Thoroughly roused, however, Albemarle went a point better still : If India did not provide China with opium then assuredly Turkey would ; national revenue was being threatened by sickly sentimentality ; talk of interference with this source of revenue was only an application of the " meddling principle," destructive of all trade ; if the cultivation of opium were prohibited, why should not barley be placed in the same contraband category ? And who would dream of such madness ? Then, conveniently forgetting that British merchants had " doctored " their opium to tickle Chinese palates, the learned Earl declared that, " whenever habit had induced a people to desire a certain commodity it was not in the power of a Government or Legislature to prohibit the general use of that commodity." [2]

On several occasions, succeeding this debate, Shaftesbury pressed the Lord Chancellor for the promised verdict from the Law Officers of the Crown, and finally, on August 20th, that verdict was read : The Officers declared themselves " unanimously of the opinion " (1) that there was " no illegality in the

[1] Hansard, March 9, 1857, 2043. [2] *Ibid.*, 2046.

cultivation or sale of opium by the East India Company ; " (2) that the opium traffic was " no violation of the treaty with China." But " as some doubts existed as to whether the trade was not contrary to the spirit of the treaty," these advisers suggested that " it would be expedient to introduce some change so as to avoid remonstrances which might possibly be made." [1]

Under these circumstances it was obvious that big interests, Government authority and legal opinion were all opposed to prohibitive legislation. Shaftesbury, therefore, seeing that further Parliamentary efforts must be preceded by religious and educational endeavour, betook himself with zest to the fundamental task of creating public sentiment, without which effective legislation is impossible. Never did he lose an opportunity of directing attention to the scandalous proportions of this traffic, which, " on political, moral, religious and social grounds " [2] he declared " wholly indefensible." To the end of his days he was president of the Anti-Opium League ; as late as 1880 he became president of the Anglo-Oriental Society for the " Suppression of the Opium Trade " ; [3] and on October 21, 1881, in the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor presiding, he made one of his most scathing indictments of the whole traffic. But Shaftesbury was an overworked man leading a score of movements, and the battle against this vicious interest required all the concentration of Wilberforce and Clarkson, of Cobden and Bright, to dislodge it from its deeply entrenched position, as a source of Government revenue.

The opium traffic remains to this day the vilest stain on the British flag. As late as 1924 our Indian Government was deriving some £4,000,000 annual revenue from this death-dealing trade.[4] Yet, bad as the situation is, progress is being made. The pioneer endeavours of Shaftesbury and his comrades have not been in vain. Public opinion is gradually, though slowly, awakening to the proportions of this crime against humanity, and demanding its abolition. In 1881 opium revenue collected by British authorities in India was £10,480,051 ; [5] to-day it is

[1] H. of L., Aug. 20, 1857 ; *ibid.*, May 14th, June 22nd, Aug. 24th ; *Pop. Ed.*, 541.

[2] *Pop. Ed.*, 541–2.

[3] This Society grew out of a Committee formed in 1874.

[4] *British Bulletin*, April 1924.

[5] *Ency. Brit.* (11th edit.), " Opium."

less than 40 per cent. of that amount, and religious organizations, at least, are now almost unanimous in demanding complete suppression. In 1906 twelve hundred Christian missionaries signed a memorial against opium; the Chinese Emperor's historic edict followed shortly afterwards, and in this document His Majesty borrowed much of the missionaries' phraseology. The National Christian Council of India, in like manner, has declared emphatically against the trade; while, also, it has not hesitated to repudiate the conclusions of a Royal Commission as to the "harmlessness of the use of opium" in the East; and further, it has strongly questioned the impartiality of that Commission's personnel.[1] It is ominous, too, that all Indian Temperance Societies include suppression of drugs in their campaign against alcohol.[2] Moreover, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, meeting in Atlantic City, on January 9, 1924, unanimously passed a resolution that "the time has come to summon the whole Christian Church to withstand the opium traffic in the name and power of God"; while again Bishop Brent, representing the United States Government at the League of Nations' Conference in Geneva, 1923, declared that under no conditions whatever must Western nations be allowed any longer to pervert the Lord's Prayer, by saying to Orientals: "Give them this day their daily *opium*."[3]

Public sentiment, undoubtedly, is crystallizing against this traffic; and the duplicity associated with it is now generally recognized as a disgrace to Christendom. The Dangerous Drug Act in England classes opium as a poison and metes out severe punishment to persons attempting to traffic in it; nevertheless His Majesty's Indian Government still countenances the trade with China and derives from it millions sterling. What therefore, in Britain, is prohibited as poison is encouraged for *foreign trade* as a pleasing stimulant. Hastings's "Machiavellian and conscienceless" principle is not yet suppressed as a rule of practical statesmanship. Recent figures show that the Straits Settlements are drawing 45·5 per cent. of their total revenue from the opium trade; the Federated Malay States derive 16·8 per cent. of

[1] *British Bulletin*, April 1924.

[2] On the other hand, the writer is informed by a gentleman, who spent many years in India as manager of a large jute business and did a great deal of entertaining in military circles, that there is a kind of unwritten law amongst British Army officers, that it is a breach of etiquette for any of them to belong to a Temperance Society.

[3] *British Bulletin*, Oct. 1923.

Government income from the same source; Singapore, where we are about to spend not less than £10,000,000 on a new naval base, derives "43 per cent. of its revenue" from the opium monopoly;[1] while British India still draws not less than 6 to 7 per cent. of its revenue from opium, none of which is of any medicinal value.[2] Popular opinion is rising against this social curse, but the traffic still worms out its tentacles in all directions. The Peking Anti-Opium Association asserts that military monopolies for the sale of this drug exist everywhere; and it significantly suggests that "armies can only be supported by taxes on opium." Again Dr. Saleeby states that, "by a Paris agreement in 1920, Germany is required, without time limit, to deliver to the Reparation Commission 12·5 per cent. of her total production of cocaine." This means that the "Allies" are "actually compelling the Germans to hand over one-eighth of all the cocaine they can produce, while employing Customs officers, police, health officers and social hygienists, magistrates and legislators to keep it out."[3]

With the opium traffic sowing the seeds of death and engendering suspicion among the nations, it surely is time that concentrated endeavour be made to pluck up the whole business, root and branch. The League of Nations, various Churches, and nearly all Missionary Societies have done, and are doing, splendid work. But has not the day dawned when society in general, and Britons in particular, should heed the call of the great pioneer in this long-protracted fight? After nearly half a century's struggle against this social scourge, Shaftesbury declared it "the duty of all religious societies and the duty of every missionary society, the duty of every man who cares for the faith of Christianity, and the duty of everyone who cares for the honour of his country, to combine in protesting, in memorializing, in giving no rest to the authorities of this country, until such time as they shall have wiped out this foul reproach from the forehead of the British Empire."[4]

NOTE.

Results of the 1924–5 Opium Conference at Geneva, under auspices of the League of Nations, have been humiliating, in no

[1] "The Opium Failure" (*Nation*, Dec. 27, 1924).
[2] "Opium Traffic" (*New Encyclopædia of Social Reform*); *British Bulletin*, April 1924.
[3] *British Bulletin*, April 1924.
[4] *Pop. Edit.*, 725.

small degree, to the moral forces of the British Empire. As Mr. Wilson Harris in his article, "The Great Opium Sham," [1] has pointed out, American representatives wanted "one Conference" at which "every phase of the drug problem could be dealt with," and which would put forth united effort to limit the world-consumption of opium to the necessities of medicinal and scientific use. "But the powers with whom it lay to stamp out opium-smoking (those, like Great Britain, with opium-smoking dependencies) wanted no disinterested American interference, and insisted on having a little separate conference of their own to deal with opium-smoking in the Far East. On that task accordingly, Great Britain, France, Holland, India, China, Japan, Siam and Portugal have been engaged since November 3rd."

And what are the results of this "First Conference" of interested powers? Already it is generally admitted that this Conference was little more than a farce and that the interested nations, instead of trying to free their peoples from the opium curse, actually set to work erecting new defences for its revenue All their "reforms" left purposeful loopholes of escape; while their agreement to make the traffic a Government monopoly holds out the "strongest financial inducements to keep the trade going." [2]

The Times, December 9, 1924, published a letter from Mr. Basil Matthews calling attention to this hypocrisy and pointing out that India had voted against the American plan "to limit the world's production, manufacture, and export of opium and its derivatives to the amount required for its strictly medicinal and scientific needs." [3] Mr. Matthews also pointed out that Great Britain abstained from voting on this American proposal, thus giving tacit support to the views of her Indian Government; while Canada, on the other hand, ominously, voted with the U.S.A. This same authority, in an earlier article, from Geneva, frankly expressed his conviction "that a considerable number of the Governments concerned do not really want to sweep the abuse of opium and its derivatives out of the world." [4]

To these statements Mr. Campbell, the British lawyer who acted as Indian representative at both First and Second Opium Conferences,[5] felt constrained to reply. So, forthwith, he dispatched a long letter to *The Times* defending the attitude of the Indian Government and accusing the American delegation of breaking faith, by introducing proposals beyond the limits of the agenda. This letter, however, consisting chiefly of legal quibbling, was stilted and weak; [6] and Bishop Brent,[7] head of the American delegation, retorted crushingly.

[1] *Daily News* (London), Dec. 15, 1924. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] "Opium Failure," in *Nation* (English), Dec. 1924.

[4] *British Weekly*, Nov. 20, 1924, "World War on Opium."

[5] Second Conference followed directly upon First, and was open to "disinterested" nations.

[6] *Times*, Dec. 12, 1924.

[7] Bishop Brent of Buffalo is probably the greatest living authority on the Opium Traffic. The World Crusade against opium originated with his endeavours, when a missionary in the Philippines ("World War on Opium," *British Weekly*, Nov. 20, 1924).

In his letter Brent refuted all Campbell's charges, and proceeded to explain that India was the *only* country which voted against his proposal to extend the scope of the Conference ; while, on the other hand, twenty-seven countries supported the proposal, and only nine abstained from voting, among them Great Britain and France. Demonstrating the quibbling nature of Campbell's attack on the American delegation, Brent proceeded : " I fear that Mr. Campbell has allowed the domestic habits of India so to obscure his vision as to lead him to look on his unique exception as though it were the general rule." Then he threw out to the Indian representative this gentle hint : " Mr. Campbell is too astute a lawyer not to realize the weakness of his case."

Disinterested British opinion seems almost unanimous concerning the " utter futility " of the First Opium Conference. The *Nation* says, it presents the " most disappointing reading that has ever issued from Geneva." The same journal, moreover, points out that, in the Preparatory Committee of the First Conference, Sir John Jordan made the constructive proposal " that India should effect a 10 per cent. reduction of her opium export every year " on the condition that " her customer States should correspondingly decrease their imports." But Sir John's proposal, warmly attacked by India, was ruled out of the agenda. Concluding its article The *Nation* adds : " To America this Conference is the ' acid test ' of the sincerity of the League of Nations. . . . This year their faith must have been sadly shaken." [1]

[1] *Nation*, Dec. 27, 1924, " The Opium Failure " ; also American *Nation*, Feb. 4, 1925, " Deadlock at Geneva " (Ellen N. La Motte, written from Geneva). At " Second Conference " Viscount Cecil referred to opium-eating as " an age-old custom, generally harmless, and sometimes actually beneficial."

Since the dates referred to above, Britain's attitude to the international ramifications of the opium traffic has been altogether more hopeful.

CHAPTER XXI

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

TURNING from the opium traffic, we face a social problem of equal significance. Shaftesbury was never known specifically as a temperance reformer. He was not a teetotaller; and, on one occasion at least, he declared that he would question the wisdom of any enactment prohibiting all consumption of alcoholic beverages: for he believed an occasional glass of wine had a peculiar power of stimulating good spirits and evoking social fellowship.[1] Yet, all this admitted, no survey of Shaftesbury's endeavours dare omit some treatment of his attitude toward the social influence of the liquor traffic.

From many quarters to-day it is asserted that the liquor traffic is no problem in itself. Solve the housing and sanitary problem, we are told, and then the liquor evil will reform itself; for it is simply a by-product of bad housing and grimy surroundings.[2] "Drink," it has been remarked, "is the quickest way out of Manchester." That there is a half-truth in this aphorism, so glibly proclaimed from university rostrum and economic forum, no one will question, but to accept it as a whole-truth, or as an indirect defence for the liquor traffic, is puerile. Are all our drunken motorists, including those adorned in opera-hats, the victims of insanitary houses, smoky factories or repulsive lanes? Are the goodly body of Oxford and Cambridge students, who, on any boat-race night, may be seen at Piccadilly Circus, London, either merrily or stupidly drunk, the victims of a slum environment? Are all the princes, nobles, generals, statesmen, etc., who generation by generation sink into drunkards' graves, pushed there because they are denied decent

[1] Hodder, iii. 323–4.

[2] Shaftesbury, on more than one occasion, when fighting for better housing, stated that in certain slum areas he believed two-thirds of the misery, disease and drunkenness was due to wretched housing and the lack of sanitation.

houses? On more than one occasion in eighteenth-century England, Parliament was adjourned early because "the honourable Members were too drunk" to prosecute the business of State. Did these aristocratic gentlemen seek intoxication as release from repulsive surroundings? Does the "housing theory" of drunkenness explain the blighted lives of Alexander the Great, the younger Pitt, and a thousand other brilliant careers brought to premature ruin through alcohol?[1] But admitting that gloomy, unhealthy homes will tend to break the morale of any people, and to encourage artificial stimulation, it may well be asked: "How far would Britain's expenditure on alcohol go toward solving the housing problem?" The answer is suggestive. In 1920 Britain spent over £450,000,000 on intoxicating drink, nearly five times as much as on all her educational institutions, including the British Museum.[2] But what would this annual expenditure do for national housing? On a basis of £600 per house, the 1920 expenditure on alcohol would build 750,000 good houses. If, however, 750,000 houses were built every year, our housing problem would rapidly disappear; and we should solve it with money which to-day is, for the most part, being spent in degrading the populace.

Shaftesbury's intimacy with social conditions forced upon his mind the close relationship between the liquor traffic and degeneracy. Yet he never for a moment contended that alcohol gave birth to all social ills. He saw clearly both sides of the truth and realized that whereas alcohol was a prolific cause of misery and slumdom, these evils, in turn, set up an almost irresistible stimulus toward drink; consequently a vicious circle of degradation was thus created and sustained.[3]

In his address on Education of the Working Classes, delivered in the Commons, February 28, 1843, Shaftesbury produced some striking evidence. Speaking of the stimulus to prostitution produced by beer-shops, even among youngsters 14 and 15 years old, he quoted conditions, reported by police inspectors, which

[1] As a social worker on Canada's frontiers, the writer has met Oxford graduates and Shakespearian actors, who, having sunk because of alcohol to the level of social outcasts in England, were sent out to the "Canadian West" as "remittance men." And there he has seen them, with broken nerves and trembling voice, singing and reciting in saloons for drinks and nickles.

[2] The 1924 expenditure was down to £316,000,000. See *Alliance Year Book and Temperance Reformers' Handbook* for 1926, especially pp. 17–27 and 161–81.

[3] Repeatedly Shaftesbury used such phrases as: "Drunkenness, alternately the cause and consequence" of misery, poverty, disease and crime.

seem incredible and perhaps are better left untold.[1] The statement of a certain Chaplain to a county jail however, is more fit for repetition, and is worth pondering on. It came in reply to Shaftesbury's query: "How much of the crime that brings prisoners to the jail can you trace to the habits of intoxication?" and reads as follows: "In order to arrive at a just conclusion, I devoted several nights to a careful examination of the entries in my journals for a series of years, and although I had been impressed previously with a very strong conviction, derived from my own personal experience in attendance on the sick poor, that the practice of drinking was the great moral pestilence of the Kingdom, I was certainly not prepared for the frightful extent to which I find it chargeable with the production of crime: I am within the mark by saying that three-fourths of the crime committed is the result of intemperance." The verdict of J. Smith, governor of Edinburgh prison, bears out the same conclusion: "The result of my experience is a firm conviction that but for the effects of intemperance, directly or indirectly, instead of having 500 prisoners in this prison at this time, there would not have been fifty."[2]

Other evidence, produced by Ashley, was equally striking. A "memorial drawn up by a body of working men at Paisley, and addressed to their employers," contains this observation: "Drunkenness is most injurious to the interests of the weavers as a body: drunkards are always on the brink of destitution. There can be no doubt that whatever depresses the moral worth of any body of workmen, likewise depresses their wages; and whatever elevates that worth, enables them to attain and procure higher wages." In 1834 a Parliamentary Committee was appointed "to investigate the causes and effects of drunkenness": and referring to their Report, Shaftesbury maintained that it had "never received a tithe of the attention so valuable a document deserved." The indirect results of drunkenness, according to these investigators, were startling. They estimated that the "value of property lost or deteriorated by drunkenness, either by ship-wreck or mischiefs of a similar character, was not less

[1] Statement of Inspector James Child (H. of C., Feb. 28, 1843).

[2] *Speeches*, 76. The writer has himself visited certain American jails which, contrary to current reports, since "Prohibition," have been closed for want of prisoners. He has also seen hospitals for the treatment of alcoholism transformed to other uses, because there were no longer sufficient alcoholic victims to keep them running; whereas, previously, there was generally a long waiting list.

than £50,000,000 a year." Commenting on this statement, Ashley remarked: "These are the financial losses; and it may be easy to estimate with sufficient accuracy, the pecuniary damage that society undergoes by these pernicious practices; but it is not so easy to estimate the moral and social waste, the intellectual suffering and degradation that follow in their train." Then, supporting this conclusion, he quoted eminent authorities on insanity who pronounced the liquor traffic a most prolific cause of madness. The Superintendent of Northampton Asylum declared that "amongst the causes of insanity intemperance predominates." [1] Dr. Corsellis of the Wakefield Asylum said: "I am led to believe that intemperance is the exciting cause of insanity in about one-third of the cases of this institution"; while Esquirol, "celebrated on the Continent for his researches into the statistics of madness," concluded that alcohol is responsible for "one-half of the cases of insanity that occur in Great Britain." [2] Illustrating the relation between pauperism and alcohol, Ashley quoted expert evidence before the Government's Committee in 1834. The "contractor for the management of the poor in Lambeth and other parishes," was driven to conclude that "in nine cases out of ten the main cause (of pauperism) was the ungovernable inclination for fermented liquors." [3]

It will be remembered that in his Mines and Collieries Act (1842) Ashley inserted a clause prohibiting the payment of mining wages in public-houses or beer-shops.[4] Now, pleading for education among the working classes, he declared that this principle should be universal: that legislation should be passed making the payment of any sort of wages in a place where alcoholic liquors are sold illegal. Then, illustrating the necessity for such a step, he quoted the statement of Sub-Commissioner Horne: "Payment of wages in cash are made in public-houses (for the convenience, they pretend, of change), where it is required that every man shall spend a shilling as a rule, which is to be spent on drink. Boys have also to spend proportionately to

[1] *Speeches*, 77.

[2] Shaftesbury himself, as Chairman of the National Board of Lunacy Commissioners, was examined by a Select Committee, and expressed his conviction "that seven-tenths of the insanity that prevails in this country" was due "to habits of intoxication" (Hodder, iii. 324).

[3] *Speeches*, 78.

[4] Besides a heavy fine for this offence, the Act declared the payment of such wages null and void.

their wages (generally sixpence), and either they thus learn to drink by taking their share, or, if they cannot, some adult drinks it for them till they can. The keeper of the house generally delays the settling of accounts, so as to give more time for drinking previously." [1]

In his speech on "Children not Protected by Factory Acts" (Commons, Aug. 4, 1840), Shaftesbury declared intemperance to be "the besetting sin of England, and the cause of many of its woes." [2] On June 7, 1842, in the famous speech which broke the fetters of child slavery in mines, we find these ominous words: "Indeed, the very custom of taking those children into the mines had its origin in vice. The habits of irregularity and intoxication common among miners are the cause of it, and unhappily, from the system that prevails, those habits are transmitted from father to son." [3] In this same address Shaftesbury pointed out that in Manchester alone, there were no less than 1,839 beer-shops, public-houses and brothels. Again, pleading for the Ten Hours Bill, in 1844, he emphasized the deleterious effects of gin-shops and public-houses upon women and girls. In one gin-palace the inmates were counted on eight successive Saturday nights, and it was found that between 7 and 10 p.m. they *averaged* 1,236, *of which* 60 *per cent. were women*.[4] Such references, however, to the baneful consequences of the liquor traffic are familiar to all students of Shaftesbury's endeavours; his speeches are loaded down with allusions to this social curse. In Liverpool, addressing the Social Science Congress (1858), he declared: "A low moral state will bring on intemperance, and with intemperance all that dreadful catalogue of disease and crime that ever follow in the wake of intoxication." [5] The following year, advocating "Literary Institutes for Working Men," he implored workmen to keep away from the "riot and filthy conversation," of the gin-palace and public-house.[6]

Some further idea of the atmosphere created by the liquor traffic and its "public-houses" [7] may be formed from the

[1] *Speeches*, 81.

[2] P. 27. (This, like many others of Shaftesbury's speeches, was printed in pamphlet.)

[3] *Mines and Collieries*, 39.

[4] *Ten Hours Factory Bill* (March 15, 1844), 23–5.

[5] *Health, Physical Condition, Moral Habits and Education of the People*, 2.

[6] Speech at opening of Swindon Literary Institute, Nov. 22, 1859.

[7] Both in Canada and U.S.A. the term "public-house" is often used synonymously with "public building," and may refer to a town or city hall, a free library, a state museum, a church, a university structure, etc.

statement of Sir Charles Shaw, Superintendent of Manchester police. In his " Replies to Lord Ashley, M.P. " (1842) he quotes a letter, which, the previous year, he sent to the Manchester magistrates. In that letter Sir Charles had enclosed a list of public-houses which, for the " general tranquillity and good of the borough," he believed should be closed. His reason for tendering such advice is suggestive. These " pubs " were " of the most disorderly and infamous character, being for the greater part receptacles of thieves, prostitutes and disorderly and desperate characters." [1] In this document Shaw also drew attention to the fact that much of the charity money raised for unfortunates was " being spent and dissipated in public-houses." [2]

With this prolific source of depravity Shaftesbury had no sympathy. Therefore, though neither teetotaller nor temperance reformer, there can be no doubt as to his attitude toward the organized liquor traffic. He saw in it a public nuisance, a menace to education, religion and social reform : he recognized it, along with bad housing and lack of sanitation, as the nation's greatest enemy. Consequently, in all Ragged Schools, and in all the numerous Young People's institutions over which his influence extended, including the Sunday School and Y.M.C.A., he encouraged the formation of Bands of Hope and other temperance organizations. Indeed, so strong was his appreciation of temperance endeavours that on one occasion he said : " I am satisfied that unless Temperance Associations existed, we should be immersed in such an ocean of intoxication, violence and sin as would make this country uninhabitable." [3] Moreover, as Chairman of the National Board of Lunacy Commissioners, examined by a Parliamentary Committee, he declared : " If Temperance Associations had not risen some years since, I believe the amount of insanity in this country would be five-fold greater than it is." [4] Then, too, although the Earl was biased against the Salvation Army, he nevertheless recognized in their teetotal movement an instrument for social reform : " The only strong point in the Salvation Army is the Temperance Movement allied to it." [5]

[1] *Op. cit.*, 13–14.

[2] Bearing these facts in mind, the sentiments of Francis Place need create little surprise. He says : " I cannot . . . go to a tavern ; I hate taverns and tavern company. I cannot drink ; I cannot for any considerable time consent to converse with fools " (G. Wallas, *Life of Place*, 195).

[3] Sir Wilfrid Lawson, *Law and the Liquor Traffic*, 34.

[4] Hodder, iii. 324.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii. 440.

Shaftesbury's sympathy for temperance reform, however, was demonstrated in still more tangible ways. Though embarrassed by debt to the extent of £100,000 when he succeeded to the Earldom, nevertheless among the first acts to which he set his hand was the closing of certain public-houses on the estate, and the abolition of the truck system, so closely allied to the liquor trade.[1] Again his attitude is reflected by the fact that the Shaftesbury Park Estate, London, opened July 18, 1874, as a sort of model dwelling-house district, prohibited all sale of intoxicating liquors within its bounds.[2] In 1854, at Drury Lane, Shaftesbury took the chair at one of John B. Gough's great temperance lectures, and referring afterwards to this pioneer in the long fight for American Prohibition, his words suggest marked admiration: "The man is a marvel—a real marvel. He would be a marvel if it were only for his eloquence and flow; but he is pious and modest withal, which renders him a perfect prodigy. He acts as well as he speaks."[3] That same year Shaftesbury performed the remarkable feat of catching the liquor traffic off its guard; for he succeeded in passing an "Act for further regulating the Sale of Beer and other Liquor on the Lord's Day." By this Act no public-house, gin-shop or other resort licensed to sell intoxicating liquors, was permitted to conduct such business on Sunday, Christmas, Good Friday, or any other day of Public Fast or Thanksgiving, between 2.30 and 6 p.m. or after 10 p.m.[4] The Act applied to England and Wales, and seems the nearest approach England has ever made toward Sunday Closing.[5] But the Act's gain was, for the most part, of short duration. The tremendous interests behind the traffic immediately rallied to the defence of their millions, and the following year, by the "Sale of Beer" Act, were able largely to overthrow this modest effort toward national sobriety.[6] Again, in 1879, Shaftesbury manifested his interest in Temperance Reform by

[1] As Shaftesbury more than once pointed out, it was a common practice to supply farm labourers with beer and deduct the price, plus handsome profit, from their wages.

[2] *Law and the Liquor Traffic*, 41. Disraeli pronounced this effort a successful experiment.

[3] Hodder, ii. 438.

[4] 17 and 18 Vict., cap. 79.

[5] To-day Scotland, Wales and Ulster have Sunday Closing of public-houses.

[6] 18 and 19 Vict., cap. cxviii. The reason stated in this Act for repealing the legislation of the previous year is: "Inconvenience to the Public." This "Sale of Beer" Act prohibited the sale of liquor on Sundays only between 3 and 5 p.m. and after 11 p.m.

carrying an "Habitual Drunkards' Bill" through the Lords. The purpose of this measure, which that year was crystallized into legislation, was to establish state-inspected retreats "to facilitate the control and cure of Habitual Drunkards."[1]

In the *Edinburgh Review*, July 1854, there appeared a terse, but scathing, indictment of the liquor traffic: "The liquor traffic, and particularly the retail branch of it, is a public nuisance in all three respects—physically, economically and morally. By its physical consequences it causes death to thousands; reduces thousands more to madness or idiocy; and afflicts myriads with diseases involving the most wretched forms of bodily and mental torture. Considered in its economical results it impairs the national resources by destroying a large amount of corn which is annually distilled into spirits; and it indirectly causes three-fourths of the taxation required by pauperism, criminal prosecutions and prison expenses. . . . Thirdly, viewed in its moral operation, it is the cause of two-thirds of the crime committed. It lowers the intelligence and hinders the civilization of the people; it leads the men to ill-treat and starve their families, and sacrifice domestic comfort to riotous debauchery." No such succinct repudiation of the liquor traffic will be found in any single address by Shaftesbury; nevertheless, mixed through his speeches, every charge here levelled against that traffic finds an echo.

Only gradually, however, did Shaftesbury come to realize the social implications of this "trade." At first, like the vast majority of his countrymen to-day, he seems to have paid little attention to this "public nuisance," almost taking its existence for granted as an inevitable expression of the social order. Indeed, in 1831, when running as Conservative and Anti-Reform candidate for Dorsetshire, no less than £15,600 was spent for his election; and of this amount £12,525 went to public-houses![2] There is no proof, however, that Ashley himself in any way encouraged this reckless expenditure; and there is considerable evidence that it was the work of election agents, urged on by the party organization.[3] But the important fact is this: Shaftesbury gradually came to see the scandalous effect of the public-house,

[1] Preamble, 18 and 19 Vict., cap. 118.

[2] Hodder, i. 120. Ashley's election expenses are here tabulated.

[3] Ashley contested this seat by special request of the Conservative party, and "against his own wishes." They promised him his election expenses; but that promise was not kept (Hodder, i. 118–24).

with its treating system, on the moral tone of elections, and consequently, he set his face like flint against the vicious system of winning votes by saturating a constituency in alcohol.[1] Hence when, in 1847, after two sessions of absence from Parliament, he was approached by a deputation from Bath to run as their candidate, he consented only on condition that *not a farthing be spent on liquor*, that the election be fought wholly on principle, and that there be no banners, processions, or demonstrations. Returned, head of the polls, leaving Roebuck, the old Member, last of the three candidates, Ashley declared: "I did not pay a single farthing; *not a penny during six months was expended on beer*;[2] nor had I one paid agent; the tradesmen conducted the whole, and with singular judgment and concord. This is indeed a model for elections, and heartily do I thank God that the precedent has been set in my instance. We had no mob, no bludgeon-men, and trusted entirely to the police and common sense."[3]

Enough evidence has now been examined to prove that Shaftesbury, by experience, came to recognize in the liquor traffic a primary social curse. Yet, just as to this day the opium traffic remains a black stain on our flag in India, so the liquor traffic continues to disgrace both social and political life at home. We are now spending some four times as much money on alcohol as on education. Nevertheless, strong political interests are advocating with one breath a decrease in the national expenditure on education; while with the next they suggest that it is a Briton's sacred right to drink alcohol in any quantity, whensoever, and wheresoever, he feels an impelling thirst. Their argument, in its last analysis, suggests that restriction of ignorance is a national extravagance; but that restriction, or in fact nullification, of temperance sentiment (which seeks to conserve food-stuffs,[4] and to release society from drunkenness) is a

[1] The writer has had electioneering experience in various districts of England, and, as a Canadian, he has been amazed that the English conscience sees nothing incongruous in public-houses doing top-speed business on election day.

[2] Italics inserted.

[3] Hodder, ii, 218.

[4] During the "European War," in Canada, the Empire's granary, popular conscience forced legislation protecting food grains from conversion into alcoholic beverages. But large quantities of Canadian corn, when shipped to England, were brewed into alcohol. Moreover, as a result of the War, with its "wet" canteens, there was almost a universal rise in the price of brewery stocks.

national duty.[1] " Puritan," " joy-killer," " fanatic," " American," " foreigner " are terms constantly on the lips of the brewers' party whenever any suggestion is made of curtailing, for the common good, the traffic from which they derive millions.

Then, too, it is ominous that the most wealthy and numerous of our political parties is unblushing in admitting that it derives the great bulk of its electioneering funds from the coffers of brewers. On the editorial page of the London *Evening Standard*, October 10, 1924, during the process of the last general election, we find this admission : " As a matter of fact, the Conservative Central Office never really lacks money. They have the brewers to fall back on just as the Socialists have the trade union funds." Further on, this Conservative newspaper pays suggestive tribute to Viscount Younger, one of our numerous millionaire and titled brewers, hailing him as a sort of wizard at raising campaign funds. Lord Younger, says the *Evening Standard*, " is a man worth several army corps of what the Americans call a ' go-getter.' At the last election Lord Younger collected enough money to pay for its (Conservative Party's) special expenses, so that the party funds remained practically untouched." [2] Can Britain then expect any rational approach towards a solution of the liquor traffic so long as the largest, wealthiest and proudest of her political parties depends on brewers for its campaign funds ? Is this condition of public life a promising omen of the much-advertised " personal liberty " about which " the trade " is always shouting ? Is it not rather an illustration of that prostitution of liberty so aptly described by Tennyson as :

> A freedom free to slay itself,
> And dying while they shout her name.

Does not such " liberty " remind all thinking people of the epigram uttered by one of the victims of the Reign of Terror : " Oh, Liberty, what crimes have been committed in thy name ! " Does not this *unholy alliance* between the liquor traffic and the

[1] Mr. " Pussyfoot " Johnson, for instance, has on various occasions been denied the right of free speech in England. After paying for a public hall he frequently was not permitted to speak. This is surely strange treatment in the country that gave " free speech " to the world.

[2] We Britons have never wearied of heaping satire on American politics because of the influence of " big business " over political parties. But it is doubtful if any American trust has ever provided so large a percentage of party funds as British brewers to-day are providing for the Conservative party.

great Conservative party bring to mind afresh the shameless immorality resulting from the British Government's encouragement of the opium traffic between India and China? And may not this alliance, if unbroken, be pregnant with awful retribution? May it not conceivably usher in the day when a large section of our populace, doubly intoxicated, both by alcohol and by a perverted doctrine of "personal liberty," shall be seduced to

> bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
> And still revolt when *truth* would set them free?

The following lines of the above verse, are equally suggestive:

> Licence they mean when they cry liberty,
> For who loves *that* must first be wise and good.

Mr. Lloyd George has declared that "England must either break the liquor traffic, or the liquor traffic will break her." Yet from one end of Britain to the other, at tremendous expense, titled, millionaire brewers, are financing organizations masquerading under misleading names and spreading liquor propaganda;[1] moreover, they are employing the cleverest advertising artists to delude the populace into the belief that the liquor traffic is the twin-sister of liberty. Surely then society must be on its guard against these sinister intrigues.[2] The work of Mr. Robinson Souttar, fortunately, has sounded the warning and given fair statement of the case: "We hear much of the obligation resting on the State not to interfere with the rights of those who sell and use intoxicants, but we must not forget that others have rights as well as they. There are in most communities persons who do not use intoxicants, and to whom their open sale causes pain. These citizens lead exemplary lives. Neither jails nor workhouses exist for them, and if they have an interest in the police it is chiefly in order that they may

[1] For example, the "True Temperance Association" and the "Fellowship of Freedom and Reform." To date, neither institution has dared publish a complete list of subscribers; but, as window-dressing, they advertise that certain bishops and public men are supporting their cause. The practices of the True Temperance Association are admirably exposed in *Sunday Observer*, Nov. 16, 1924, while the tactics of the Fellowship of Freedom, and of the Anti-Prohibition League, are shown up in *Catholic Herald*, Nov. 8, 1924.

[2] Certain "workmen's clubs" are financed by brewers or other "members of the trade" ("Mixed Politics," *Sunday Observer*, Nov. 16, 1924).

be protected from the drinking section of the community. . . Have these persons no claim to consideration ? Must they suffer in silence whilst their eyes and ears are offended at every corner by the traffic and its fruits ? Surely if there is any conflict with regard to personal liberty, the liberty of the law-abiding section of the community should be considered first. Generally speaking it has been otherwise. Philosophers have argued and senators legislated in the main as if the sellers and users of alcoholic liquors were the only persons in the community whose right to personal liberty need be taken into account." [1]

Such statements regarding the power of alcohol over legislation, and the distorted perspective it breeds, are not new ; but they are often forgotten. In 1743, when the demon of drunkenness was holding a large section of the public in his coils, the Earl of Chesterfield made a brilliant appeal against the whole system of raising revenue by encouraging vice. Chesterfield, on this occasion, was speaking in the Lords against the Gin Act (1743), drafted to increase revenue through the liquor traffic ; his speech is marked by irresistible logic : " If these liquors are so delicious that the people are tempted to their own destruction, let us at length, my lords, secure them from these fatal draughts by bursting the vials that contain them. Let us crush at once these artists in slaughter, who have reconciled their countrymen to sickness and to ruin, and spread over the pitfalls of debauchery such baits as cannot be resisted." [2] " The Bill in question," Chesterfield continued, was " calculated only for the propagation of disease, the suppression of industry and the destruction of mankind." " I find it," he declared, " the most fatal engine that ever was pointed at the people, an engine by which those who are not killed will be disabled, and those who preserve their limbs will be deprived of their senses." Then, contending that by such encouragement Parliamentarians were " making war on their country," Chesterfield charged them with opening " the flood-gates of gin upon the nation, that when it is less numerous it will be more easily governed." [3]

Surely Chesterfield, speaking nearly two centuries ago, was largely right. Is not the recognition and encouragement of vice,

[1] R. Souttar, *Alcohol : Its Place and Power in Legislation*, 8–9.
[2] *Against Revenues from Drunkenness and Vice* (International University Reading Course, Section i. 140).
[3] *Op. cit.*, 141 ff.

which State licence implies, a prostitution of the function of law?

Oh, Law, fair child of Liberty,
God's seal is on thy brow!
Oh, Liberty, thou soul of Law!
God's very self art thou!
Oh, daughters of the bleeding past,
Oh, hope the prophets saw,
God gave us Law in Liberty,
And Liberty in Law!

If then we hold that Law is the guardian of Liberty, can we possibly, as Britons, be proud of the fact that a large percentage of our successful brewers and distillers have been elevated to the Peerage? But further, bearing in mind that the business from which these "noblemen" derive their fabulous wealth is believed by many to be the greatest of social enemies, and is admitted by all to be one of the greatest, does it not seem as though we are actually utilizing legal institutions to award public honours to public malefactors? [1]

As previously observed, eminent British statesmen, when defending the opium traffic, and the wars it bred, argued that alcohol is a deadlier enemy to society than opium. Yet, although Britain to-day has absolute prohibition against opium as a stimulant, and although no one objects to this limitation of "natural rights," nevertheless the very mention of any restriction upon the liquor traffic is opposed by vast interests as a denial of personal liberty, and a fanatical interference with the freedom of the individual to eat and drink what he likes. This argument overlooks the fact that every individual is a member of society, whose personal conduct affects others. Hence we find that in the name of *personal liberty* hundreds of thousands of innocent children, born in drunkards' houses, and the victims of brewers' wealth, are robbed of their natural rights before ever they have heard the phrase—"personal liberty." In times of shipwreck

[1] Brewers' boldness, in furthering their ends, is amazing. The writer has read letters sent by a "titled gentleman" to Church members, guaranteeing 20 per cent. interest on sixty-day loans for financing the "Whisky Fleet," which, under protection of the Union Jack, has been helping to smuggle alcohol into the U.S.A. Is not this story dangerously akin to that of our opium smuggling into China? Moreover, at the general election, 1922, the brewers ran an "Independent Conservative" candidate against Lady Astor at Plymouth. The reason is obvious. Again, when Mr. Fisher brought forward his syllabus for teaching "Temperance and Hygiene" in Elementary Schools, brewers opposed the suggestion as a conspiracy against children.

British chivalry follows the rule—" Women and children first " to the lifeboats. But the British brewers' conception of personal liberty takes no account whatever of the multitudes of innocent women and children whom their business tramples to an agonizing death, without ever being given so much as a fighting chance of escape. In fact these interested " gentlemen " are so busy shouting their slogans about freedom, that they cannot hear the dying groans of victims bleeding under their feet.

In nearly all English cities, railway stations and bill boards are placarded with brewers' advertisements suggesting that liquor is inextricably associated with all that is noblest in British tradition.[1] National magazines too, such as *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News*, provide numerous full-page illustrations designed for the same purpose.[2] But what is the verdict of some of the great personalities of our history on the influence of this traffic? A few quotations may prove suggestive. Sir Thomas More, the author of *Utopia*, recorded his impression thus: " Tippling houses, taverns and other dens of iniquity, wine and beer houses . . . do not all these, after rapidly exhausting the resources of their devotees, educate them for crime? " Milton, a century later, in *Tetrachordon*, wrote: " What more foul and common sin among us than drunkenness, and who can be ignorant that, if the importation of wine and the use of all strong drink were forbid, it would both clear rid the possibility of committing that odious vice, and men might afterwards live happily and healthfully without the use of those intoxicating liquors." Lord Bacon said: " Wine is the most powerful of all things for exciting and inflaming passions of all kinds, being, indeed, a common fuel for them all." Daniel De Foe, speaking of the liquor traffic, says: " From hence comes poverty, parish charges and beggary." [3] Henry Fielding, the eighteenth-century

[1] The writer has visited practically every large city in Britain, and everywhere he has found that brewers' advertisements far exceed those of any other " trade." In one London street, along the frontage of a single block, he counted twenty-one huge posters advertising alcoholic beverages. Among subjects to which brewers resort for advertising artifices are historic scenes, the Union Jack, Bible texts, the King's uniform, beautiful country views, patriotic tradition, etc.

[2] Among Britain's press there seem to be no daily journals, and few periodicals, with moral courage to refuse liquor advertisements. In Canada, however, for many years back, great *national* papers like the Toronto *Globe*, at no small financial sacrifice, refused liquor advertisements. The same was true of all University journals of North America, and of many American dailies. The courage of these publications helped greatly to break the tyranny of liquor interests in North America.

[3] *Law and the Liquor Traffic*, 30.

author and magistrate, was so exasperated with the influence of alcohol, as he saw it around him, that he said: "Nor will anything less than the absolute deletion of the spirit trade serve on the present occasion." Bishop Berkeley boldly asked: "Why should such a traffic be tolerated in the State under any pretence or in any shape whatever?" [1] Again, Oliver Goldsmith observed: "In all the towns and countries I have seen, I never saw a city or village yet whose miseries are not in proportion to its public-houses. . . . Either in a political or religious light, it would be our highest interest to have them suppressed."

Such verdicts, from great British characters, are by no means isolated. Cowper describes ale-houses as

> The sties that law has licensed,
> . . . 'Tis here they learn,
> The road that leads from competence and peace,
> To indigence and rapine.

Dr. Johnson, reviewing, in the *Literary Magazine*, Jonas Hanway's [2] letter on spirit-drinking, says: "We shall add to it our testimony that the mischiefs arising on every side from this compendious mode of drunkenness are enormous and insupportable; equally to be found among the great and the mean . . . overwhelming multitudes with incurable diseases and unpitied poverty." [3] Coleridge's protest is not less emphatic: "Even senators and officers of State hold forth the revenue as sufficient plea for upholding at every fiftieth door throughout the Kingdom, temptations to the most pernicious vices, which fill the land with mourning. . . ." [4]

Dr. Adam Clarke notes: "Strong drink is not only the devil's way to the tippler, but the tippler's way to the devil." [5] Richard Cobden, in 1853, said: "Every day's experience tends more to confirm me in my opinion that the temperance cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reform." Dr. Guthrie, the great friend of the poor, and pioneer of popular education, observed: "The dram-seller and tippling shop have met us at

[1] *Law and the Liquor Traffic*, 37.

[2] Hanway has been described as the "Shaftesbury of the Eighteenth Century."

[3] Lecky's *History of England in Eighteenth Century* provides abundant proof of the tyranny alcohol was exercising over England in Johnson's period.

[4] Sir William Lawson, *op. cit.*, 32.

[5] Commentary on 1 Peter v. 8.

every turn, and defeated us in almost every contest." Charles Spurgeon, whose contact with the poor was scarcely less intimate than Guthrie's, has left a suggestive commentary in seven words: "Many children fast that brewers may feast." Judge Payne, a celebrated wit, a lifelong friend of Shaftesbury, and a Ragged School enthusiast, speaking of slum children, said he found that "if their parents were not dead, they were usually dead drunk."

The Times, December 7, 1853, says: "No way so rapid to increase the wealth of nations and the morality of society could be devised as the utter annihilation of the manufacture of ardent spirits, constituting as they do, an infinite waste, and an unmixed evil."[1] The same journal, March 29, 1881, reiterates that conviction: "Drinking baffles us, confounds us and mocks us at every point. It outwits alike the teacher, the man of business, the patriot and the legislator." Thomas Carlyle, in 1872, advocating the justice of "Local Option," which grants to the community the democratic right of dealing with the liquor traffic by popular vote, declared: "It is one of my most earnest and urgent wishes that some such Bill as the Permissive Bill do become law. From the bottom of my heart I wish you success, complete and speedy."[2] Cardinal Manning expressed similar desire: "I think that to take a popular vote on this subject is the most reasonable of all things, for who knows the needs, and the wants, and the evils, and the miseries of their own locality, as well as the people who live in it."[3] Dr. Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Thomson, Archbishop of York, were of like opinion with Manning; while Dean Farrar, in 1898,

[1] Since Prohibition in U.S.A. (1919–20) national savings have more than doubled; death-rate has reached lowest figure on record; gifts to Churches, educational establishments and charitable institutions are greater than were ever known previously; while also billions have been raised toward wiping off the National Debt. See current numbers of *American Issue*; also Washington Government Reports.

[2] On Mar. 8, 1864, Mr. (Sir) Wilfrid Lawson introduced the "Permissive Prohibitory Intoxicating Liquors Bill." But to this day the people of England and Wales have been denied the democratic right to any sort of experimental legislation relative to the liquor traffic. The Welsh people have expressed a strong desire for this right, but in 1924 the Tory vote in Parliament was almost solidly against it, and the Welsh Local Option Bill was thus defeated by the party whose campaign funds were largely raised by brewers.

[3] As a youth, the writer, for three years, was schoolmaster in a summer resort village under Local Option in Ontario, Canada. During that period he saw only one drunken man in the village and he had driven in from a "wet" town several miles away. On the other hand, fifteen miles from this village was another place of equal size, which was "wet," and there saloons provided an almost constant exhibition of debauchery.

exclaimed: "From the Legislature we have a right to demand at once, laws dominated *not* by forces of custom, prejudice and greed, but some effective remedies, at least, for these gigantic evils. . . . We demand that a majority of two-thirds of the people should have the power, now possessed by thousands of single landlords, of suppressing public-houses in any particular district." [1]

The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, in 1876, declared: "Drink is the Curse of the Country! It ruins the fortunes, it injures the health; it destroys the lives of one in twenty—I am afraid I should be right in saying one in ten—of our population." The words of the Rt. Hon. (Lord) A. J. Balfour are scarcely less emphatic: "Intemperance at this moment is one of the greatest social scourges we have to undergo, for it is the parent and producer of countless evils, and if we could put an end to it, by any means, we should deserve the gratitude of posterity." [2] Queen Victoria, addressing three African chiefs, complimented them for prohibiting all traffic in alcohol within their territories: "I feel very strongly in this matter, and I am glad to see that the Chiefs have determined to keep so great a curse from their people." [3] Even Lord Randolph Churchill has added his testimony; for speaking at Walsall, July 29, 1889, he said: "Imagine what a prodigious social reform, what a bound in advance we should have made, if we could curb and control this devilish and destructive liquor traffic . . . if we could divert . . . a considerable portion only of the £100,000,000 or more, which this nation thinks it necessary at present, every year, to spend in drink; if we could divert that expenditure *to objects more civilized.*" [4]

Again, some of the chief figures of recent history have been tainted with what brewers describe as "temperance fanaticism."

[1] *Lees and Raper Memorial Lecture*, 1898. Dean Farrar's attitude stands in striking contrast to that of the Bishop of Durham, who, when the Bishop of Oxford's Temperance Bill was before the Lords (1924), sided with brewery interests in opposing the community's liberty to exercise legislative control over the liquor traffic. Naturally, the brewers capitalized the Bishop's support.

[2] This statement stands in striking contrast to "Balfour's Licensing Act" (1904), which crippled the power of Justices over public-houses and entrenched the power of "the trade" (*Alliance Year Book* (1926), 19–20).

[3] *Law and the Liquor Traffic*, 42.

[4] The nation's 1920 expenditure on alcohol was over £450,000,000. Admitting that a large percentage (about 40) of this figure goes to the State in taxation, can it be seriously argued that such revenue is any reparation for the national devastation wrought?

The Rt. Hon. John Morley, in 1891, said: "What is the next stage in our journey? . . . I take it to be the establishment by legislation of the principle that the people living in a locality shall have the same full, complete and unrestricted powers of determining the number or the existence of the public-houses within their borders, as are now possessed by the justices, or as are possessed and every day exercised, by the owners of individual estates. That I take to be the next stage in our journey, and a most important step it will be."[1] On September 20, 1904, the Earl of Rosebery made this reference to the liquor traffic: "The Government has to deal with a powerful and encroaching monopoly, which influences, and to some extent corrupts, every branch of our municipal and political life. What was their course? They fortified the monopoly against the public interest. . . . I say that the conduct of the Government in promoting, at the expense of the public interest, . . . so dangerous a monopoly as this, *was little less than treason to their duty*." Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, as Prime Minister, in 1906, declared: "It is not only time that this thing was dealt with, but that it was finished; that it was put on such a footing as that we should not require to make any alterations for many years, and perhaps generations, to come—putting it on an intelligible and reasonable and logical basis, a basis which has its establishment secured by principles which we regard as inviolable."[2]

In spite, however, of Campbell-Bannerman's statement, neither he nor his party—thanks to opposition in the House of Lords—achieved this end; for never yet has "the trade" been placed upon "an intelligible and reasonable and logical basis." But the truth is that the British people must blame themselves, not their statesmen, for the thraldom which the liquor traffic exercises over English society to-day. The brewers and their political puppets are a tightly organized party who make all else subsidiary to financial gain; while the friends of temperance, representing a far larger percentage of the electorate, are hopelessly disorganized, and consequently are crucified afresh at each new election. The "trade interest," with a monstrous axe to grind, vote only for the man or party guaranteeing immunity from further legislative restraint;[3] while, contrariwise, the friends

[1] *Law and the Liquor Traffic*, 42. [2] *Ibid.*, 44.

[3] One of the brewers' schemes is the circulation in small quotas, of millions of pounds of their highly remunerative preferred stock among the middle and working-class populace, in order to make them "interested parties."

of temperance, having no axe to grind and no money to gain, always find that, during elections, temperance programmes are lost sight of in a maze of *more important issues*.

Shaftesbury, we repeat, was never specifically known as a temperance reformer, and his ideas on this subject were undoubtedly less advanced than those of certain characters quoted above. Nevertheless, it is suggestive that the man whom he revered as the most inspiring figure of modern history—John Wesley—is perhaps the greatest temperance reformer the British people have reared.[1] With the verdict, therefore, of Shaftesbury's avowed hero we conclude this chapter.[2] "It is amazing," said Wesley, "that the preparing or selling of this poison should be permitted (I will not say in any Christian country) but in any civilized State."[3] Again, in his sermon, "The Use of Money," after elaborating the principle that no Christian may engage in any business that preys upon the lives of his fellows, this great prophet proceeds: "Therefore we may not sell anything which tends to impair health; such is evidently all that liquid fire, commonly called drams or spirituous liquors. Those who prepare and sell them only for *medicine* may keep their conscience clear. But who are they who prepare them only for this end? Do you know ten such distillers in England? Then excuse them. But all who sell in the common way, to any who will buy, are poisoners general. They murder his Majesty's subjects wholesale; neither do they ever pity or spare. They drive them to hell like sheep; and what is their gain? is it not the blood of these men? Who then would envy their large estates and sumptuous palaces? A curse is in the midst of them. The curse of God cleaves to the stones, the timber, the furniture of them. The curse of God is in their gardens, their walks, their groves; a fire that burns to the nethermost hell. Blood, blood is there; the foundations, the floor, the walls, the roof are stained with blood! And canst thou hope, O thou man of blood, though thou art clothed in scarlet and fine linen, and farest sumptuously every day; canst thou hope to deliver down the fields of blood

Since the War the "Johnnie Walker" company has put on the market for "popular" consumption millions of pounds of 7 per cent. preferred stock. Thus "suckers" are baited to support a business that menaces our national life.

[1] Wesley's followers were, admittedly, the pioneers of Temperance Reform in both the U.S.A. and Canada.

[2] Wesley has not yet come to his own in English History. Birrell says of him: "No other man did such a life's work for England."

[3] *Works of J. Wesley*, xi. 510.

to the third generation? Not so, for there is a God in heaven; therefore thy name shall be rooted out. Like those whom thou hast destroyed, body and soul, 'thy memorial shall perish with thee.'" [1]

Note.

In order to form some first-hand judgment concerning the liquor traffic in Britain, the author has visited some 250 public-houses in various parts of the country. Among the cities where he has striven to carry on some little investigation are London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Plymouth, Bradford, Nottingham, Bolton, Portsmouth, Southampton, the Hartlepools,[2] Bristol, Hastings, Leicester, Derby, etc., and everywhere he has been amazed, above all else, at the number of women frequenting "pubs." In not more than five or six cases, all told, did he find a public-house where no women were conspicuous as customers; while generally, young and good-looking girls were employed as barmaids.[3] Moreover, in some of the rooms surrounding bars, even when crowded to excess, he found more women present than men; and the language of certain of them seemed even coarser than that of their male companions. Nevertheless, on the basis of these visits, which, of course, make no pretence of being conclusive, it would be a slander on British womanhood to suggest that the number of women frequenting "pubs" is equal to that of men. But certainly in the houses under discussion, most of which were in industrial districts, not less than 25 to 30 per cent. of the evening patrons were women; and not a few were between 18 and 25 years old.[4]

Again, in certain districts, particularly within the London area, the writer has found free dances being conducted in the back rooms of public-houses. Here young women were lured in ostensibly to dance;

[1] This discourse is included in *Standard Sermons*. Wesley's influence throughout the U.S.A. and the British Colonies, where there is no State Church, has been incomparably greater than in Britain; for in these newer countries the missionary endeavours of his followers have borne tremendous harvest, and Wesley's *Works* have a vast reading public.

[2] Within two minutes' walk from the railway station in Hartlepool is a block, five-sevenths of whose frontage is occupied by public-houses; while also "pubs" command both corners and have considerable stretches on either side-street. Yet, in this district, over which public-houses stand guard as sentinels of "liberty," the writer, on a winter's day, 1922, counted eight successive houses with from one to seven front window panes broken; these were the "homes" of "the children of freedom."

[3] Even in days when liquor interests were a tremendous influence in both Canadian and American life, popular respect for womanhood never permitted the introduction of "barmaids." It was only in isolated cases, such as around mining and lumbering camps, or in "foreign" sections of large cities, that the barmaid was ever known in North America.

[4] In Glasgow and Edinburgh the writer found a smaller percentage of women in public-houses than in most English cities.

but most of the time was spent at tables around mugs of beer. Moreover, in summer, certain "pubs" run what might be described as "beer garden" dances. These "beer dances" create something approaching the atmosphere of licensed night clubs, which menace society higher up the social scale. The moral danger of dances conducted in such environments is too obvious for comment. Then too, in industrial centres, it is a common sight, on any summer's evening, to see from two or three to fifteen baby-carriages around the doors and passages of a single public-house; while the spectacle of young mothers standing outside "pubs," holding a small baby with one hand and a glass of beer with the other, is familiar to all observers. On one occasion, within a quarter-mile of Piccadilly Circus, London, about 11 p.m., the author saw a woman, on leaving a public-house, fall postrate on the side-walk, a tiny baby in her arms. She was so stupidly drunk that two policemen had to drag her home, and a woman passing by was hailed to carry her crying child. On another occasion, in East London, on a mid-winter's evening, he saw four babies, two of them crying, lying uncared for in three perambulators, pushed under a dirty old shed, behind the "pub" where the mothers were drinking. Many times, and in various places, on winter nights, he has seen emaciated, half-clad children crying at the doors of public-houses, waiting for their parents to take them home. Yet this is the boasted "personal liberty" which our liquor laws mete out to defenceless infants!

In Carlisle, where the traffic is under State control, the writer was shown through various public-houses by an ex-Mayor of the city, who is a director of the prevailing system, and an enthusiastic advocate of its comparative merits. He also had a conference with the manager of the new scheme, who was equally zealous in his advocacy of the change. Both these gentlemen maintained that drunkenness in Carlisle had greatly decreased under State-management, and that the city's public-houses were now decent places, where any self-respecting man might take his family for a meal. In spite, however, of these glowing accounts, the writer could muster little enthusiasm for what he saw. Certainly Carlisle's public-houses were lighter, cleaner and altogether more inviting than those in other British cities. True too, they all claimed to provide more or less provision for meals. But with the exception of certain big houses, more like hotels than "pubs," the sale of alcohol still seemed their chief business; and the ex-Mayor, whose courtesy and kindness were boundless, took pains to emphasize that, as directors of the new system, they were in no way interested in temperance, as such. Their business, he repeatedly suggested, was to provide inviting places in which to eat and drink—not to restrain the appetite for alcohol. This assertion, of course, suggested the vital question: "Was the consumption of alcohol under the new system larger or smaller than before its introduction?" But to this query the writer received no answer. Every other question was cheerfully and satisfactorily answered by the directing chief, but, asked regarding the comparative consumption of alcohol under the

old and new systems, he said he was not allowed to divulge that information.

Discussing Carlisle's experiment with several prominent citizens, the author found no approximation toward a unanimous verdict. Some thought that under State control drunkenness and rowdyism had appreciably decreased, and that social conditions were improved. Others threw strong doubts on this conclusion, contending that under the new scheme the superior appearance, and more enticing atmosphere, of public-houses, were alluring young men and women to drink, who never would have been induced to enter less respectable "pubs." The writer can only state an opinion on what he himself saw. But, with few exceptions, it seemed to him that Carlisle's public-houses were still primarily places for the consumption of alcohol, rather than centres of refreshment and recreation. However, the Carlisle scheme is an interesting experiment; and Britain is in sad need of experimental endeavours in this field of reform. To-day we are browbeaten by the stupid assumption, created by interested propaganda, that any attempt to protect society, particularly children, from the ravages of the liquor traffic, is a *fanatical* suppression of personal liberty. Hence, as a consequence of this dogma, we are far behind both the United States and our own self-governing Dominions, in devising legislative machinery responsive to democratic control! [1]

[1] The Carlisle scheme is in no sense a democratic measure: it was dictated by the Government without consulting the local electorate.

CHAPTER XXII

SHAFTESBURY, THE MASTER FIGURE OF SOCIAL REFORM

MR. BERNARD SHAW, in a highly dramatic spectacle, makes St. Joan to discover that she is *alone*—deserted by prince and cardinal, by statesman and courtier, by soldier and priest. For a moment this isolation is overwhelming. But soon she finds peace in the consciousness that her loneliness is as the loneliness of God, and of His prophets. Her work is that of a pioneer ; and as a pioneer, she must needs walk *alone*. Yet she is not alone! She feels the sustaining power of a Divine Presence. Her Voices buoy her up. And under such inspiration she can do without the sympathy and support of those whose understanding is warped by jealousy and greed.

Shaftesbury too was a pioneer, a prophet ; and, as such, he had frequently to walk alone. In early manhood he was a warm admirer of Wellington and Peel ; in maturer years he was almost an intimate friend of Palmerston. Yet there was a moral earnestness, a spiritual ecstasy, about Shaftesbury that marked him off as "a man apart." The world of Wellington and Peel and Palmerston was not his world. His ideals and aspirations, his judgments and standards were far removed from theirs. Indeed, the more Shaftesbury came to know of the prominent statesmen of his day—and he had intimate contact with all from Canning to Salisbury—the more he was convinced that statecraft alone could never solve a nation's deepest problems. On the contrary, with increasing experience, the conviction grew upon him that the labours of the seer, the prophet, the teacher, must necessarily precede, and give substance to the efforts of the statesman. In fact the more he learned of Parliamentary procedure, the stronger was his persuasion that a statesman's sphere is limited to a degree. *At best* he can only hope to crystallize into legislation the creative endeavours of the pioneers of progress—to

give State sanction to victories heralded by prophet and seer; while *at worst* he may become the puppet of popular prejudice, spurious patriotism or class hatred.

Naturally, therefore, Shaftesbury found his ideal of leadership not among the statesmen but the prophets of mankind: among the men who illuminate principles that overleap the bigotries and delusions of Nationalism. Ten years before the Earl was born a great British prophet, after a long life of incredible labour, bade farewell to time and space. That prophet had "brought forth water from the rocks to make a barren land live again." He had inspired hope in countless multitudes of forlorn lives. He was Shaftesbury's supreme hero, and was considered by him the noblest character of modern history. His name is John Wesley;[1] and he, too, because of his peculiar calling, was a lonely man.[2]

Dr. Johnson, in later years, came to realize the majesty of Wesley's character and the vast importance of his labours. He also became attached to the man himself, for "he could talk well on any subject." But one thing the renowned autocrat could not endure. Wesley was "never at leisure." "He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. That is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have out his talk, as I do."[3] But Shaftesbury, though sharing this characteristic with his hero, admired Wesley for other reasons than the fact that he had little time "to fold his legs and have out his talk." The following quotation suggests the admiration of the disciple for his master: "I have always," said the Earl, "regarded two men as the two most remarkable men in modern history; very diverse, indeed, in their character; very diverse, indeed, in the end which they proposed. I think the two greatest ecclesiastical administrators that I ever heard of in history were John Wesley and Ignatius Loyola. They have founded two antagonistic systems, and, until the end of time, there will be deadly enmity between these two. When it pleased God to allow Ignatius Loyola to

[1] Shaftesbury's estimate of Wesley by no means stands alone; Augustine Birrell says that Wesley's *Journal* is "the most amazing record of human exertion ever penned or endured" (*John Wesley, His Times and His Work*; also Curnock's 8-vol. Standard Edition of *Journal*).

[2] As late as 1922 neither the names of Wesley nor Shaftesbury appeared in the library indexes of University College or King's College of the University of London.

[3] For interesting article on Wesley, by Dr. Alington, Head Master of Eton, see London *Evening Standard*, June 17, 1925.

be raised up for the purpose for which he was raised up, doubtless it was in the mind of God at some future time to let a man like John Wesley be raised up, who should show equal ability, equal power, equal determination, equal principle, *but a million times deeper appreciation of the truth of that which was necessary for the heart of man, of that alone which could make him great on earth, and ensure him an eternity of happiness in heaven.*" [1]

Master and disciple had much in common. Both were men of scholarly attainment. Wesley wrote grammars in five languages and for years was a fellow of Oxford; Shaftesbury carried off first-class honours in Classics from the same university,[2] and his speeches show remarkable power for assimilating facts. Nevertheless, it was to the heart, conscience and will, rather than to pure intellect, that these prophets made their primary appeal. Both drank deeply from the springs of a simple, pragmatic faith; both placed first emphasis on the spirit, not the forms of religion; both cherished a passionate love for God and man; both spent and were spent in disinterested service; both worked remarkable, yet explicable, miracles; both influenced life from a hundred angles. Both stand immortal in the vanguard of the world's noblest leaders. What Wesley was to the Eighteenth century, in rousing it from its sleep of death, that Shaftesbury was to the Nineteenth, in applying religious dynamic to social-industrial problems. Yet both these pioneers were lonely men. Neither found much time to fold his legs and talk.

All this is true; but it is also true that the prophet, the seer, must always remain an easy mark for the critic. His necessary isolation suggests idiosyncrasies and eccentricities; and such characteristics are favourite targets for the satirist. Indeed, nothing is easier than to picture the pioneer as a crank or a faddist, an ascetic or a monk. And ours is an age that loves cynicism, if only it is arresting. We will forgive almost anything if clothed in "polite," though merciless, ridicule. We have little faith ourselves, but we exhibit our superiority by caricaturing our recent ancestors who had much. We are not unlike ill-balanced surgeons—so obsessed with a passion for operating upon the body, and discovering diseased organs, that they forget man's spirit.

Shaftesbury is exactly the type of character that attracts the cynicism of our age; and his recent biographers, J. L. and Barbara

[1] Hodder, iii. 460.

[2] Both Wesley and Shaftesbury were Christ Church men, but Wesley became a Fellow of Lincoln.

Hammond, in spite of much splendid work, have not been able to resist the temptation of giving full scope to their brilliant wit. The Evangelical Movement, which inspired Shaftesbury's endeavours, they never weary of ridiculing. They picture this Revival as, indeed, a "public baptism," but a baptism of questionable value: they maintain that it "substituted for composure, enthusiasm; for toleration, intolerance"—that it inculcated "a special satisfaction in an atmosphere of gloom," and put a premium on "taboos and inhibitions."[1] Such a caricature is less than the proverbial half-truth. Yet the real meaning of that Revival these authors never suggest. Not once is the eloquence of their ridicule tempered by the fact that when Wesley started his work, drunkenness in England was a universal curse and public-houses were swinging signs: "Drunk for a Penny. Dead Drunk for Twopence. Free Straw." Brothels then were frequently attached to gin-shops—sometimes even to theatres. Three out of four children died before their fifth birthday.[2] Illiteracy reigned, almost unquestioned, among the working populace. Pillory and whipping-post were commonly accepted as instruments of government; and hanging of petty criminals afforded a public show. Cock-fighting, bear-baiting and games of chance were popular sports in the "Merry England" of that date. In dirty cellars and attics drunken parents were compelling their own children to work at hand-crafts fifteen or sixteen hours a day. A ferocious criminal code treated the life of the poor as entirely secondary to property, hanging people for more than one hundred and fifty "crimes." Press-gangs, crimps and trading justices were recognized as part of the social system, while women were sometimes burned, even for theft.[3] Indeed, the status of the labouring classes was that of outcasts in their native land. The multitude was largely deserted by Church and State, for Deism and Rationalism had paralysed the pulse of sympathy. England's rulers lived in a world far removed from the vast mass of their countrymen. They con-

[1] *Lord Shaftesbury*; 237–8.

[2] *Growth of Maternity and Child Welfare Movement in Great Britain*, A. K. Chalmers, M.D., 1–2. He quotes this table from a Medical Research Committee Report for London:

Dying under Five Years PER 100 BORN.

Period.	Rate.	Period.	Rate.
1730–49 ..	.. 74·5	1790–1809	.. 41·3
1750–69 ..	.. 63·0	1810–29 ..	.. 31·8
1770–89 ..	.. 51·5		

[3] Not till 1794 was this law permitting women to be burned repealed.

trolled the national apparatus both of Religion and Government: and they controlled it almost wholly for selfish ends.[1] Nevertheless this is the age to which Shaftesbury's recent biographers refer as one of "composure" and "toleration"; while Wesley and his followers, who transformed Britain, and laid the foundations both for self-help and democracy, they picture as semi-fanatics and inhibitionists.

The truth is, the Hammonds are economic historians of the Industrial Revolution; and, as such, we are all indebted for their illuminating research. But, like many other specialists, they draw too sweeping conclusions, and try to interpret the whole social problem in the light of their own peculiar study. Written large on the face of their work is the assumption that Britain's present evils may be explained by the economic changes accompanying the Industrial Revolution. This eruption they picture as the nursing mother of modern ills. But is their conclusion correct? Or is it superficial? That the factory system revolutionized Britain's industrial life, and that it was accompanied by a miscarriage of justice, no person will deny. But that the Industrial Revolution offers a general explanation for modern disorders has never been proved, and can never be proved: it conflicts with truth.[2]

The Hammonds' deduction, however, is obvious enough. Emphasizing the lamentable exploitation of women and children accompanying the Industrial Revolution, they turn and ask, why did not Religion put a stop to this fearful business? Then, noting that the labours of Wesley and his "enthusiasts" were contemporary with these epoch-making changes, and being oblivious of the degrading, even bestial, conditions against which the Revival fought, they proceed to blame Evangelicalism for

[1] For some idea of conditions against which Wesley and early Evangelicals fought see Sydney's *England and the English in Eighteenth Century*; Lecky's *Hist. of Eng.*; Rogers's *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*; Overton's *English Church in Eighteenth Century* and *Evangelical Revival*; Wesley's *Journal*; Bishop Berkeley's *Pastoral Charges*; Dr. W. H. Fitchett, *Wesley and his Century*; John S. Simon's *Revival of Religion in Eighteenth Century*, etc.

[2] Dorothy George (*London Life in Eighteenth Century*, 1925) says: "Irregularity of work and the combination of evils called sweating were of long standing, deeply rooted in the organization of many London trades,—yet so little is heard of them till the nineteenth century that they pass as products of modern industrialism. The worst evils of child labour had already begun to be mitigated when their existence first became generally realized owing to the sufferings of apprentices in cotton mills. Cellar dwellings, again, often spoken of as the result of the industrial revolution, in London at least dated from Tudor times, and were directly encouraged by Tudor and Stuart policy."

LORD SHAFTESBURY AS AN OCTOGENARIAN

not averting a catastrophe. Why not, by similar logic, blame Primitive Christianity for the downfall of the Roman Empire or the Apostolic Church for the debauchery of pagan society that pressed in upon it, on every side? Surely one deduction is as reasonable as the other. The trouble with this convenient conclusion is that it takes no stock either of social conditions immediately preceding the Industrial Revolution, or of the meagre representation of Early Evangelicals among rulers in Church and State. The fact is, every evil of the revolution was latent in the early eighteenth century, and in exaggerated form. All such evils required, was an ample theatre for operations; and that theatre was provided by the brilliant inventions ushering in the factory system. On the other hand, it was *not till* 1815 *that the Evangelicals secured their first representative on the Episcopal Bench.*[1] Indeed, early Evangelicals were much like early Christians: a people of little social status and practically unrepresented in smart or ruling society. They had to work gradually, building from foundations upward. And that, necessarily, was a slow process. Hence to blame them, even indirectly, for the evils of the Industrial Revolution is mildly humorous.

Nothing, however, is easier—though few things to-day are more popular—than to represent Evangelicals as ranting enthusiasts, so set on "fleeing from the wrath to come" and saving their own souls, that they had no time left for social problems. Or a variation of this second-hand dogma represents them as so busy saving the "heathen" and suppressing the African slave trade that they neglected the worse-than-heathen in their midst and were "wilfully blind" to a home slavery, more terrible than the traffic in negroes. But how much truth is there in such epigrams? How came they to run so glibly from lip to lip? That Evangelicals had a profound sense of the awfulness of sin and the justice of punishment, there can be no doubt. Also it is beyond doubt that they looked upon the redemption of *individual* sinners as their chief duty. In fact it may truly be said that they rediscovered the individual and reasserted his worth; for a cardinal doctrine of the Revival was the *infinite value of the human soul.* Again these zealots

[1] W. L. Mathieson, LL.D., *English Church Reform*, 1815–40, 14. This work contains valuable material. It proves that Evangelicalism promoted the influence of middle classes and helped prepare the way for Reform Bill of 1832, which it "warmly supported," not as a democratic, but as an anti-oligarchic measure" (15 and 44).

certainly were possessed of a passion for spreading the "good news" of Christ's Salvation and Liberty to the uttermost bounds of the earth. But that does not mean that their "other-worldliness," and missionary fervour, distracted their attention from social problems in their midst. On the contrary, individuals were "saved" that they might lead others to the Saviour; and every early Evangelical was a missionary among his fellows.[1] All were workers for the Kingdom of God on earth; and the prototype of that Kingdom was the vision of perfect fellowship in Heaven.[2]

Evangelicals were far from perfect; frequently, indeed, they were inconsistent; for they were pragmatists, not theologians. But they waged valiant warfare against one of the most bestial periods in Britain's history;[3] and, in the end, they won. That they were influenced by their age, and failed to cope with *all* its evils, goes without saying. That finally they transformed England is indubitable. Fifty years before the Reign of Terror caused Paris gutters to run with human blood, John Wesley and his disciples were preaching Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Liberty from sin that makes a man free indeed, Equality of all social ranks before the Eternal Judge, Fraternity of man under the Fatherhood of God. And though the fruits of their labours appeared all too slowly, they saved Britain—and without bloodshed. The religious zealots who organized the temperance movement in England, who started the Sunday School and inaugurated the Sunday evening service, who opened Britain's first free medical dispensary and originated societies for self-help among the working populace, who humanized both prison system and penal code, who emancipated the slaves and laid the foundations of popular education, who encouraged the growth of middle-class influence and originated the Protestant world missionary crusade, who taught the labouring world to become vocal and provided many Trade Union leaders—these zealots, surely, were rather active in the affairs of this world for a people obsessed with "other-worldliness."

In the sphere of industrial reform the story is analogous. Wilberforce and other "enthusiasts" supported the first Factory

[1] See Dr. Harnack's interpretation of primitive Christianity, *History of Dogma*, vol. i; Dr. Glover's *Conflict of Religions in Early Roman Empire*.

[2] In *Congregational Church Monthly* (1925) the author has written twelve brief articles, "Democracy's Debt to Evangelicalism."

[3] D. George, *London Life in Eighteenth Century* throws considerable light on this period.

Act on the Statute Book; but they objected that it *did not go far enough*. Again, such famous leaders in the Ten Hours Fight as Sadler, Bull, Wood, Oastler, Stephens, Brotherton and Grant were all Evangelicals; while even John Fielden received his stimulus for social service from the same source, for as a youth he was a Sunday School teacher. It, therefore, was scarcely an accident that Shaftesbury, too, was an Evangelical.

But it is not only to Shaftesbury's spiritual progenitors that his recent biographers do violence. Failing to appreciate the inspiring forces behind the man, they, not infrequently, misrepresent, and even caricature, the man himself. His "Sabbatarianism," for instance, is a favourite theme for satire; and never do they weary of lampooning it as inhibitive, narrow, joy-killing and sombre—as wholly negative, both in conception and execution. Never does it seem to enter their mind that the Evangelical Sabbath had a *positive* aim, and was in fact the vehicle of positive advance. Avowedly Evangelical "Sabbatarianism" was sternly "Puritanical": to our age, closing of National Museums on Sundays and prohibition of Sunday bands in parks, seem ridiculous. Nevertheless, he who imagines that Sabbath observance created only an atmosphere of gloom is sadly blind. Without this vehement emphasis that Sunday was a Holy Day, divinely ordained for spiritual uplift, the worker would have had no guarantee against industrial exploitation *seven* days a week. But as it was, even the most godless employers were compelled to respect the Day of Rest. Sunday protection, however, was not the only material blessing which "Sabbatarianism" brought to British workers—a blessing, by the way, often denied their Continental brothers. It was the "Sabbatarians" who gave British workmen their coveted, almost unique, Saturday half-holiday; for this holiday was, as we have seen, an immediate by-product of "Sabbath Observance."

"Sabbatarianism," however, gave England more than Sunday protection and the Saturday half-holiday. It brought the spirit of peace and restfulness, stimulating thought—without which the Sunday School, Chapel and Brotherhood could never have accomplished their reforming work. A notable feature of Evangelicalism was its genius for organization. Every "convert" was "followed up" and organized into some class or group for instruction and fellowship. Hence an army of lay workers was gradually trained, and Sunday became a day fully occupied with

meetings. All Chapels and Meeting Houses directly affected by the Revival had at least two preaching services on Sunday; and these were supplemented by Sunday Schools, Class Meetings, Bible Classes, Young People's Societies, Love Feasts, Fellowships, Choirs, and other auxiliary organizations. The Meeting House provided facilities for worship, instruction and fellowship on the one hand: for questions and discussion on the other. Sunday became a day to which the Christian worker looked forward as a time of spiritual comradeship. It was the bright spot of his week; it brought gladness and peace to all other days. The "Ministrations of the Sabbath," in short, inspired a thousand and one organizations for education and philanthropy, which formed so notable a part of the Evangelical Revival. They enabled working England to read and to think; they taught her how to propagate and to agitate. They brought the sobriety, the sense of solidarity, and the ability to organize, without which the Trade Union Movement, for instance, could never have developed into a potent and self-disciplined force. Indeed, this "day of gloom," to the modern critic, was a day of gladness, peace and power to Evangelical workmen. But, had Sunday been a day devoted to carousal, or sport, or even to recreation, the vast body of social organizations, which became so marked a feature of nineteenth-century England, could never have been established.[1]

Again Shaftesbury's uncritical interpretation of Scripture offers an easy mark for ridicule, and has been the butt of many a jibe. Certainly his veneration of the Bible amounted almost to "bibliolatry;" and he lived in constant supplication for the Second Coming of Christ. Moreover, his endeavours for a "Jerusalem Bishopric," created in 1841, and his "injudicious" condemnation of *Ecce Homo* ("The most pestilential book ever vomited from the jaws of hell")[2] provide exactly the target at

[1] Élie Halévy, *Religion and Culture* (*History of English People in* 1815). Halévy claims it would be almost impossible to over-emphasize the influence of Evangelical Revival on development of modern England. Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, on the contrary, speak of Evangelicalism as "the reflection of the despair that came into men's lives with the lengthening shadows of the industrial revolution" (*op. cit.*, 238). How is this verdict to be reconciled with Wesley's statement that never could he recall fifteen minutes of depression in his life? The eight volumes of his *Journal* justify his claim.

Diary (May 12, 1866) reads: "Speaking at a meeting of Church Pastoral Aid Society, I denounced *Ecce Homo* as a most 'pestilential book.' This expression I well recollect. The report adds 'ever vomited from the jaws of hell.' No doubt, then, I used the words. They have excited a good deal of wrath. Be it so. They were perhaps too strong for the *world*, but not

which satirists love to aim: and his recent biographers have drawn many a lusty bow. They suggest the Earl's theology was so rigid, that he believed at seventy just what he had been taught by his old nurse at seven, and that for many years he lived "outside" his age.[1] Now if this means that Shaftesbury did not grow spiritually richer with increased experience, or that his vision never expanded with passing years, it is decidedly incorrect; if, however, it means that his explicit faith in God and Christ and the Bible never wavered, and that his boyish enthusiasm remained constant till death, it is perfectly true. But is this a theme for satire?

> Who is the Happy Warrior? Who is he
> That every man in arms should wish to be?
> It is the generous Spirit, who, when brought,
> Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
> Upon the plan *that pleased his boyish thought.*

Shaftesbury's faith enabled him to hear God's call in a pauper funeral; it caused him to register a vow of life service. It maintained enthusiasm and courage till the end of his days; and in its illumination he worked miracles for social reform. His faith was perhaps narrow, but its depth contrasts strikingly with the shallowness of much twentieth-century breadth. Then, too, it would be a mistake to conclude that the reformer's theory of Biblical inspiration was exactly plenary. For always he interpreted the Old Testament in light of the New, and none of the crudities, inhumanities, or military aggrandizements pictured in certain parts of Old Testament lore were looked upon as, in themselves, inspired. They simply represented the dross associated with certain stages of preparation for the revelation of Jehovah's love, as revealed in the character, teaching and sacrifice of Christ. Above all, Shaftesbury's God was one of compassion and love, whose image was mirrored in Christ, whom the Earl accepted as the complete Saviour from sin, and Redeemer of the world. Therefore the whole Bible he interpreted in the light of this belief, which he considered the centre of all truth—a Revelation too glorious for man's mind alone. Hence, if we to-day are inclined to ridicule his religious controversies, let us,

too strong for the *truth*. It escaped in the heat of declamation; justifiable and yet injudicious" (Hodder, iii. 164). Shaftesbury thought this book hit at Christ's Divinity.

[1] *Op. cit.*, 272–4.

at least, be charitable enough to remember, they were undertaken in defence of what he interpreted as a Revelation of Redeeming Love to all Mankind.

Shaftesbury's habit of introspection and his life-long practice of committing to his Diary the innermost secrets of his soul, offers special scope to the Hammonds' wit. In a chapter obviously designed as prelude to an argument blaming Shaftesbury for the "Ten Hours Compromise," they declare: "Ashley made a duty of egotism, and the time that most men with a serious outlook on life spend with minds that speak a universal language; that statesmen like Fox or Peel, or Gladstone spent with Homer or Plato or Cicero or Dante or Shakespeare, Ashley spent talking to himself, and talking about himself. He was like a man who might contemplate a noble space of sky or landscape, but chooses rather to stand as a penance before a mocking mirror."[1] Then, expatiating on his Diary, these authors describe it as "discourse often rhetorical, sometimes arrogant, not seldom ridiculous." Indeed, in this "mirror" they behold their subject "in the grasp of all the petulant vanities of life, trying to argue down the loud whispers of ambition, to soothe or cajole a smarting pride, to satisfy in bitter and intolerant judgment on others the feelings he repressed in his daily bearing." Mr. and Mrs. Hammond are to be congratulated on their power of vision; they see more than the Diary contains. That Shaftesbury was flesh and blood is certain, that he fought sore battles against ambition and pride is beyond dispute; that he was ever "in the grasp" of such forces is a delusion. And the delusion is not Shaftesbury's. But this prelude goes farther and informs us that, "the religion he had learnt at his nurse's knee offered for light and peace the torment of an incessant and distracting analysis of self"—that finally it turned him into "a monk or a missionary who remained in politics with less than half his mind."[2] Why, however, multiply instances? The Hammonds constantly hark back to this position. In fact the logic of their argument is that Shaftesbury suffered from hallucination: for whereas he believed his religion inspired all his endeavours, in reality that religion was an encumbrance and a snare.

Now how much veracity is there in such an inference? That Shaftesbury had the habit of introspection is true. That he "made a duty of egotism" or heaped "bitter and intolerant

[1] *Op. cit.*, 123.

[2] *Ibid.*, 124.

judgments on others " is a misleading play on words. The ancient proverb " Man know thyself," Shaftesbury believed sound advice. And his introspection, whereby he analysed the very moods of his soul and committed all to paper, was a conscientious effort to know himself. But it was more! It was an effort to judge himself by exactly the same standards as he applied to his bitterest foes. His lifelong custom of keeping a Diary probably made him, at times, dwell unduly upon things morbid and melancholy. But, after all, this self-discipline was something different, and altogether more practical, than the hair shirt of the monk or the external penance of the formalist. It had its origin in the desire to see things dispassionately in the light of Truth ; and if it reveals, sometimes, ecstasies of sorrow, it reveals also ecstasies of joy. Shaftesbury's Diary, in brief, is a thing too private, too sacred, to be approached with cynical eyes, for it reflects clearly its Gethsemanes and Calvarys, its Transfigurations and Resurrections. Indeed, without this introspection Shaftesbury could scarcely have accomplished his immortal work. This discipline enabled him to subdue the demons of self-pride and arrogance and false-ambition. It kept him tremendously conscious of God, humbly courageous, transparently honest, and simple as a child. In truth the secret of Shaftesbury's success, compared with the relative failures of such high-minded men as Owen,[1] Lovett or Place, is just the fact that whereas Shaftesbury fought in continual consciousness of God, and with a sustaining belief in immortality, the latter fought as soldiers cut off from direct communication with their source of strength, and deprived of any hope beyond the grave.

To-day it is fashionable among " smart sets " to poke fun at philanthropy as a species of well-intentioned, but grandmotherly, sentiment, which frets over effects but closes its eyes to causes —as a hobby for cranks and neurotics. And certainly some " philanthropists " have lent colour to such irony. But to suggest that Shaftesbury's endeavours were tarred by this brush is to sacrifice accuracy to satire ; and the Hammonds, unfortunately, approach close to this position. Striving to establish their theory that Ashley's resignation from Parliament (1846) caused him to become " absorbed in philanthropic work," and constituted a " Turning Point " in his career, they maintain that from then

[1] L. Strachey's reference to Owen is suggestive, though scarcely accurate " The shrewd, gullible, high-minded, wrong-headed, illustrious and preposterous father of Socialism and Co-operation " (*Queen Victoria*, 8).

on " his capacity for politics languished," that he continued in public life " with less than half his mind," and that finally he " lost his political sense "—receding into " the pious and dutiful twilight of the Ragged Schools." [1] All this suits the Hammonds' deductions whereby they blame Shaftesbury for the " Ten Hours Compromise " of 1850. But the difficulty is, it does not square with facts. 1846 registers no " Turning Point " in the reformer's career. He had been a great philanthropist before that date and he was a great statesman long after. In fact Shaftesbury's philanthropy and statesmanship cannot be separated by any artificial theory. He was essentially a philanthropic statesman, and lacking his intimacy with philanthropic organizations he never could have accomplished his Parliamentary work. Moreover, his numerous political accomplishments after 1846 prove that this man who had " lost his political sense " was a power in Parliament, even as an octogenarian.[2]

Turning to the Earl's attitude toward Democracy and Trade Unionism, we reach a more vulnerable portion of his anatomy. Shaftesbury opposed the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867.[3] He frequently referred to democratic institutions with suspicion, sometimes with contempt; he regretted much of the platform, and still more of the methods, of Chartism; Socialism he considered little better than anarchy; while Trade Unionism, he feared, tackled a great problem from the wrong angle.

Indeed, George Jacob Holyoake, in *Bygones Worth Remembering* (1905), appears to put his finger on an outstanding truth: " Shaftesbury was a nobleman of two natures. In politics he would withhold power from workmen. In humanity he would withhold nothing from them which could do them good." [4] Certainly, examining Shaftesbury's political attitude by democratic standards, we seem everywhere confronted with a dilemma. Sacrificing every ambition, the Earl dedicated his all to raising the standard of life among the labouring classes. His career was one prolonged endeavour on their behalf. Yet he opposed movements which would confer upon them political power. How, then, is such dualism to be explained? The truth is, it

[1] *Op. cit.*, 260; *ibid.*, chaps. x, xi, xvi and xvii. The theory that Shaftesbury's interest in philanthropy caused the brilliance of his political star to wane and die is repeatedly emphasized.

[2] Chap. XIX, " Other Industrial Victories," throws light on this subject.

[3] Shaftesbury's attitude to the Reform Bill of 1867 is clearly stated. He believed it was offering the franchise to persons who were *not yet* sufficiently educated for its exercise. See Hodder, iii. 219.

[4] Vol. i. 148.

is more apparent than real, and must be explained in the light of obvious facts.

Shaftesbury was fourteen years old when Waterloo was fought. Hence his sensitive spirit was being moulded when anti-French feeling was sweeping like a tide over England, and when propaganda was making the worst of what was, at best, a bad situation. Visions, therefore, of the Rule of Terror, of streets drenched in human blood, of the substitution of mob rule for Parliamentary procedure, of the acclamation of a prostitute as Goddess of Reason, of the overthrow of institutions, religious and political—such visions, at his most susceptible age, were burned into Ashley's soul ; and all were explained as fruits of Democracy. Indeed, the current interpretation of Bolshevism is very similar to the representation of Democracy prevalent in the early nineteenth century. Her twin advisers were supposed to be atheism and anarchy. She was pictured as a merciless demagogue, who, in the name of the people, devoured their souls. That such interpretation is a caricature, no one to-day will deny. But, for years, this counterfeit was accepted as sterling coin : and when the bogey was wielding its greatest power Shaftesbury was at the most impressionable age. Therefore, to the end, he maintained a horror of mobs and demagogues, of charlatans and mountebanks. And, unfortunately, he never quite shook off the idea that such phenomena were the tools of Democracy and Socialism. Hence when, at times, in heated controversy, he used hard words against Democracy or Trade Unionism,[1] he had in mind something very different from the orderly development we associate with those terms to-day. The perversions of the French Revolution continued vaguely to haunt his mind, and they coloured his definition of democratic institutions. Consequently, his opposition to the Reform Bills represented no dualism of spirit. He opposed these measures not because he wished to repress working-class aspirations, but because he feared the exploitation of the masses by demagogues. He believed that any true Government must be in the hands of its *best* citizens, and that people must be educated to a high sense of responsibility before they are capable of choosing the best. Moreover, as for Trade Unionism, he feared it would degenerate into a sort of class-warfare, thus becoming the enemy of solidarity and progress.

[1] S. and B. Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, 293, 310.

A few lines from Shaftesbury's Speech in the Commons, 1843, on the necessity for "diffusing the benefits and blessings of education," are here suggestive. Speaking of the means whereby society attains the highest development, he exclaimed: "I know not where to search for these things but in the lessons and practice of the Gospel; true Christianity is essentially favourable to freedom of institutions in Church and State, because it imparts a judgment of your own and another's rights, a sense of public and private duty, an enlarged philanthropy and self-restraint, unknown to those *Democracies* of former times, which are called, and only called, the polished nations of antiquity."[1] In brief, Shaftesbury was suspicious of mere forms, political or religious. His faith centred in *conversion*—a change of heart, individual and national. Hence, though a Churchman, he never staked his trust in Baptism or Confirmation, in Episcopacy or Apostolic Succession, in Sacramentalism or Sacerdotalism: it centred rather on the Invisible Church, the Holy Spirit, the Redeemed Will. This attitude was equally pronounced in his approach toward affairs political and secular. Rightly or wrongly, he believed many leaders of Democracy and Trade Unionism had never themselves experienced any change of heart; and without such change, he maintained they were only setting up new forms—enthroning false idols: bodies without souls.

In 1881 Shaftesbury entered into heated controversy with the Salvation Army; and in this argument we see him at his worst. The "Army," quite as much as Shaftesbury, was a child of Evangelicalism; and the master-passion of both was to bring sobriety, gladness and liberty to the dispossessed. Indeed, Shaftesbury and the Salvation Army seemed to have almost everything in common; while, as for his favourite institution, the Ragged School Union, it had anticipated, in many ways, the work Salvationists set out to perform. Naturally enough, therefore, the Army appealed for Shaftesbury's support. But their reception was far from warm—or, more accurately, it was disagreeably warm: their military titles, their irregularity and noise, their tambourines and banners irritated the Earl, now in his eighties, quite as much as did the gorgeous robes, the tinkling bells and the incense pots of the Ritualist. In fact, he half-prophesied a union between them: "Extremes meet, and I am

[1] *In Memoriam*, 17.

disposed to think that, eventually, there will be an open alliance between the Ritualists and the Salvation Army. Both delight in show, both are dependent upon their leaders, both are busy with externals." [1] An extract from one of Shaftesbury's letters, November 7, 1881, to Admiral Fishbourne, presents clearly his attitude, while also it suggests the opposition Salvationists faced, even where they looked for sympathy: "It is not that I have any repugnance to novel and abnormal modes of proceeding. My whole life has been spent in breaking down barriers and prejudices; and, in efforts to reach, religiously, the vast masses of the peoples I have, for years, disregarded every mere form of external Church government. . . . But I endeavoured, and I hope I have succeeded, to keep within the limits of the New Testament and primitive Christianity. When, however, I look at the constitution, framework and organization of the Salvation Army, its military arrangements, its Hallelujah-Lassies, its banners, their mottoes and a thousand other original accompaniments, I ask what authority we have, in Scripture, for such a system and such a discipline! . . . You can no more advance the growth of religion in the soul by excitement than you can promote health in the body by throwing it into fever." [2]

Such was Shaftesbury's attitude toward the "Army" when first approached for support; and there is no indication that it changed. However, in a later letter to Fishbourne, he assumed more tolerant tones, for there he quoted Gamaliel: "If this counsel or this work be of man, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest, haply, ye be found to fight even against God." [3] These words were penned November 22, 1881; and up till then, Shaftesbury had uttered not a syllable, *in public*, concerning the "Army's" work. But when, the following summer, he heard "a good clergyman of the Church of England" eulogize the Salvationists' endeavours, and when also he noted in *The Times* that the Archbishop of Canterbury had encouraged their methods by a donation of £5, his feelings reached the boiling point; he could no longer hold his peace. So at a meeting "on behalf of Religious Services in Theatres" he gave vent to emotions long pent-up. Admitting that Mr. Booth and his "myrmidons" were in earnest, he continued: "In earnest! Was not Mr. Bradlaugh in earnest? Were not the Nihilists and Fenians in earnest? Was not the Devil himself in earnest? . . .

[1] Hodder, iii. 440. [2] *Ibid.*, 435–8. [3] *Ibid.*, 440.

The excesses of the 'Army' were producing great irreverence of thought, of expression, of action, turning religion into a play, and making it grotesque and familiar. . . . There was no need of gymnastics to enforce Christianity. . . ."

Against such onslaughts, the Booths established a piquant defence. They recalled the "excitement" of Pentecost, when apostles were accused of "being drunk with new wine"; they drew attention to the unorthodox conduct of Old Testament prophets and kings, while also they emphasized the fact that among Early Christians decorum was no virtue. These arguments did not convince Shaftesbury. They infuriated him. He felt the Booths were claiming such direct inspiration as was conferred upon Biblical leaders: and that inference he could not stomach. Some time after the controversy, writing to one of his daughters, he said: "That grotesque set of worshippers styling themselves blasphemously, the Salvation Army, is becoming more wild than ever. . . ." [1]

Shaftesbury was a pioneer. He himself had often been dubbed a "monomaniac." He sponsored institutions frequently characterized as "revolutionary." Yet, facing the Salvation Army, he failed to appreciate its pioneer significance. This much, nevertheless, must be said in his defence. He was nearly eighty before ever he heard of the "Army," and he died when it was still in infancy. Moreover, beyond doubt, he interpreted its methods as a parody on the Ragged School Union, Exeter Hall and the Theatre Service scheme. Had he been a younger man when it was formed, or had he lived long enough to appreciate its efforts, his attitude would have been different. As it was, the "only good thing" he saw in it, was its "Temperance work"; and that he commended.

His attitude to the Salvation Army, however, is not the only weak spot in Shaftesbury's reputation. Himself a child of the Peerage and a friend of the people, he never questioned the ethics underlying laws of hereditary privilege. Traditions of the British Constitution he looked upon as almost sacred; and hereditary privileges of Kingship and Peerage he believed fundamental to the Constitution's genius. No one would have admitted more readily than he, that frequently the British throne had been disgraced by ignoble sovereigns, and that numerous peers were deaf to duty's call. Yet these abuses, to him, were perversions

[1] Hodder, iii. 442.

of a noble institution. Royalty and the Peerage he believed a specially appointed group of State servants, upon whom unique privileges had been conferred, and who, therefore, would be held accountable to God for a special stewardship. Indeed, this privileged coterie the Earl conceived of as ballast for the ship of State, designed to steady her when plunged into turbulent waters of controversy. Their privileges, however, might be easily abused, and more than once, in exasperation, he referred to the House of Lords, as a " dormitory," a " statue gallery " ; yet never did he question the wisdom or ethic of the system conferring this hereditary prestige. That service was left to thinkers politically more radical.

Again, on the whole question of land tenure Shaftesbury took no radical stand. On occasions innumerable he denounced slums and all profiteering on rents ; while also he was the founder of model lodging houses and the herald of garden cities and allotments. But as for such problems as leasehold tenure, unearned increments, single land tax, etc., these questions were beyond his compass. They are the problems Henry George has popularized, and they were little considered in Shaftesbury's day. Moreover, toward the Established Church Shaftesbury was generally uncritical. True, he laid more foundation stones of *Dissenting Chapels* than any other peer or patron (Holyoake said : " Should England one day be accounted among extinct civilizations, and some explorers arrive to evacuate its ruins, they will come upon so many stones deposited by Shaftesbury and bearing his name, that report will be made of the discovery of the King of the last dynasty "),[1] and repeatedly he slated " the Church " for its *aristocratic airs*, and its lack of interest in the working populace. But, all this admitted, he was a Churchman ; and never did he question the exclusive privileges of the Establishment. In fact, always asserting the freedom of minorities, he believed an Established Church offered the best means of bringing religious influence to bear on Government.

Shaftesbury's theological views, moreover, as we have seen, provide an easy mark for censure. His creed was rigid, scholastic, dogmatic. He belonged to the right wing of Evangelicalism and compared with Wesley, his doctrine was conservative and unbending.[2] Nevertheless, Divine Love was the centre and

[1] G. S. Holyoake, *op. cit.*, 148.

[2] Wesley declared that he asked no man to believe what was incompatible with rationality. Shaftesbury would not have gone so far. In early nine-

circumference of his belief, and when all just criticisms have been weighed, he remains a *practical* saint; and, what is more, a saint who worked miracles—not those which cause fresh blood to ooze from dead bones, but miracles which rejuvenate dead bones and make them march forward in an orderly crusade of social progress. "There are saints of the Church," says Holyoake, "and saints of humanity; Shaftesbury was a saint of both churches." [1]

In Shaftesbury's day economics was a new science, exhibiting all the dogmatism of youth. Adam Smith had propagated the *laissez-faire* theory, and lesser minds popularized a perverted version. Malthus's principle of population was being utilized to justify every type of social calamity. Behind the mask of Utilitarianism, Bentham and the Mills paraded individualism, unabashed. Ricardo's law of wages reduced workmen's pay to the subsistence margin; while later, Darwin's "survival of the fittest" seemed to place at a premium sharp claws and bloody teeth. In a word, prevalent theory pointed toward fatalism, and academicians were preaching a gospel that predestined the toiler to misery. Against these "iron laws" Shaftesbury set his face like flint, refusing to surrender human sympathy or Christian ethics to economic or scientific theory. And, in the end, braving contempt, he won. As early as 1854, Lord John Russell said of him: "There was no man living who had done so much to promote the welfare of the working classes, or done it so disinterestedly and so unostentatiously."

The same faith which won for Shaftesbury his social victories won also an exquisitely happy home life. As a young man he prayed for divine guidance in choosing a wife. He dreaded the chance of a "Jezebel or Cleopatra," and petitioned for "the mother of the Gracchi, exalted by the Gospel!" [2] His prayer was answered. Nine years after marriage he exclaimed: "It is a wonderful accomplishment, and a most bountiful answer to one's prayers, to have obtained a wife, in the highest matters and in the smallest details, after my imagination and my heart. Often do I recollect the words and sentiments of my entreaties to God, that He would give me a

teenth century there was no differentiation between Evangelicals and Broad Churchmen. Frederick W. Robertson is one of many Broad Churchmen who received his inspiration in the Evangelical school. The great tragedy was that Evangelicalism became too dogmatic, and Broad Churchism too academic.

[1] *Op. cit.*, 147. [2] Hodder, i. 107.

wife for my comfort, improvement and safety ; He has granted me to the full *all* that I desired and far *more* than I deserved. . . ." [1] Nevertheless, to the casual observer, Shaftesbury's marriage seemed hazardous. The beautiful Lady Emily Cowper was daughter of a Whig magnate, and moved in an environment counter to Ashley's ideals. Yet this fashionable lady came to accept all her husband's beliefs in religion and politics, and, during forty-two years together, there was " a continual increase of love on either side." Their lives were knitted into a spiritual affinity. Neither kept from the other any secret : and each was happy in the other's company. True, Lady Shaftesbury was disappointed by her husband's early refusals of the Garter and by his continued rejection of Cabinet office. But her confidence in him was perfect, and she never " nagged." He, in her eyes, was a model husband, an unblemished man. She, to him, ever remained " the purest, gentlest, kindest, sweetest and most confiding spirit that ever lived." [2]

In 1833, when asked to lead the Ten Hours Fight, his wife urged him on : " It is your duty ! Go forward and to victory ! " To the end she tendered the same support ; and her death was his life's greatest blow. Yet, faith bore him up. Not a whimper ! Not a complaint ! " What do I not owe to her, and to Thee, O God, for the gift of her ? " " I shall go to her, though she shall not return to me," [3] " I bow before Him in reverential gratitude for His past goodness." [4]

" Precious Min " died in October 1872. Three months later their daughter, Constance, followed on. And, again, Shaftesbury's Diary reflects the grandeur of his faith. It seems sacrilege to draw the veil. The flight of " Conty's " spirit was " angelic." Her departure was " like a resurrection " ; her face shone as that of an angel. " Heaven itself seemed opened before her eyes." In fact the radiance of her spirit, in death, Shaftesbury interpreted as " a striking and special mercy vouchsafed by Almighty God, not only to mitigate our sorrow, but positively to raise us into joy." [5]

The veteran was now well advanced in his seventy-second year. He had parted with his wife and four children. More

[1] Hodder, i. 279. [2] *Ibid.*, iii. 314. [3] *Ibid.*, 316.

[4] Six years after Lady Shaftesbury's death, the Diary reads : " The day before her death ; even in old age, she seemed to me as beautiful as the day on which I married her."

[5] Hodder, iii. 317.

than ever he experienced the pioneer's isolation. But from the task ahead he never shrank. He was a co-labourer with God. Therefore he was not alone; he would keep working till called to join his "beloved Emily." Hence the thirteen years before him were consumed in service. The old lover of humanity was now slightly stooped and enjoyed only indifferent health, but his eye still burned with youthful fire; and as Time collected its toll, it was only the body that paid. Till death, the patriarch dropped not a chairmanship, not a committee, not an interest. The octogenarian exhibited the same overflowing sympathy which characterized the lad on Harrow Hill. The Ragged School Union, Exeter Hall, various Missionary Societies, the Bible Society, the Y.M.C.A., the "Emily" Memorial Fund, the Pastoral Aid Society, the Early Closing Association,[1] his "brother costers" and a hundred social institutions still engaged his attention. Still he wrought vigorously for decent housing, clean sport, religious education, public sanitation and municipal parks; while against Bulgarian and Turkish atrocities and Britain's Afghan War he voiced the call of universal humanity.

But, in spite of all extra-parliamentarian endeavours, Shaftesbury remained a *statesman* to the last. Chairman of Plimsoll's Committee to procure protective legislation for merchant seamen, from 1873 till 1876, he was the guiding spirit behind that flaming enthusiast; and on the latter date, in spite of Disraeli's elusiveness, their efforts met with success. In 1875, after long struggles, he passed his famous Chimney Sweep Act. In 1876, knowing well that he was serving a losing cause, he rallied substantial opposition to the Bill whereby the Queen assumed the title, "Empress of India"; and nowhere does the old man's courage gleam forth more effulgently than here. Disraeli once declared: "Everyone likes flattery; and when you come to royalty you should lay it on with a trowel."[2] Shaftesbury, as much as Disraeli, knew Victoria's susceptibility to flattery; yet, summoned to the Queen's presence, he opposed the assumptions of this "pompous," "militaristic" title as frankly as he would have discussed them over his own dinner board. During the same year, also, he proved himself the friend of dumb animals by rendering strong support to Carnarvon's Anti-Vivisection

[1] See Reports and other publications of this Association, for an indication of Shaftesbury's support, in the fight for a universal weekly half-holiday and proper facilities for recreation, etc.

[2] *Life of Disraeli*, W. F. Moneypenny and G. E. Buckle, vi. 463.

Bill. In 1878 he returned to the great struggle of former years: the Factory and Workshop Consolidation Act was before the House, and the old warrior took up the cause with youthful fervour. A Ten Hours Bill at last! Congratulations poured upon him. Every speaker recognized in him the father of industrial legislation. His Diary reflects his joy: "We find ourselves after forty-one years of exertion, in possession of what we prayed for at the first—a Ten Hours Bill."[1] In 1879 he pushed for Factory Legislation in India; in 1882 he pled the cause of Russian Jews, and in 1883 that of acrobatic children, subjected to torture "on the altars of public amusement": while again, the same year, he rendered staunch support to Stanhope's Bill prohibiting Payment of Wages in Public Houses. In 1884 his defence of the Lunacy Laws exhibited remarkable familiarity with that perplexing subject. In 1885, facing death, he remained what he had been throughout life, an active philanthropic statesman. During these later years, however, his aversion to *party* politics increased: "Which is the more objectionable," he declared in 1878, "I cannot say. The Liberals are revolutionary; the Conservatives are servile. Neither has any principle or patriotism."

Toward the end Shaftesbury held a unique place in national life. He came to be recognized as a "public institution"; his character was revered as unimpeachable, and cities from Edinburgh to London, vied to do him honour.[2] Yet his simplicity of spirit remained unspoiled. He had no friends he loved more than George Holland of Whitechapel Ragged School and Mr. Orsman of Costers' Mission. The born aristocrat found his truest happiness in companionship with simple, pious men. And now, "full of years," Death was beckoning him on. For a moment he paused: "I cannot bear to leave the world with all the misery in it."[3] But "darling Min" and four children called him Home.

The end came at Folkestone, October 1, 1885. A few days previously he contracted a chill which attacked the lungs, and he knew Death was near. He was ready! "Come, Lord Jesus,

[1] D. M. Williams, *op. cit.*, 55–6.

[2] Among Brit. Mus. MSS. is an outline of the Earl's life with the words, "There never has been a doubt expressed as to Lord Shaftesbury's genuine Christian character," stroked out. And below, in Shaftesbury's handwriting, is a note marked "private": "There have been many, and there will be, I doubt not, many more" (Add. MSS., 28512).

[3] Hodder, iii. 513

come quickly." All surviving members of the family gathered round him. Frequently he requested special readings from the Book that guided his life. Yet his passion for work remained. In full possession of every faculty, without agony, and in perfect calm, he dictated answers to all important letters. Then, leaning back, he slept, and breathed no more. Repeatedly he had prayed to depart this life in daylight. His petition was granted. Sunshine was flooding the room when his spirit took its flight.

The Dean of Westminster, and the public generally, were anxious that the remains be buried in the Abbey. This request was made known to the dying man. His reply was emphatic: "No!—St. Giles—St. Giles."[1] That decision was inevitable! The man who long refused the Garter, and finally accepted it only under Palmerston's friendly pressure, who repeatedly turned a deaf ear to remunerative office and Cabinet rank—this great lover of home and the poor, was not to be decoyed, in death, by offers of burial among the "great."[2]

In response to universal desire, however, a funeral service was held in the Abbey, before the body was taken to St. Giles; and that funeral was as remarkable as any old London has seen. It stands unique among Abbey services. Royalty, the Church, the Peerage, Parliament, Society, Diplomacy were all represented. That was common enough. What was not common was that more than two hundred societies, "with all of which Shaftesbury was more or less directly connected," were represented.[3] Then, too, among the eight pall-bearers was not a titled person. All were humble men; and each had put in at least a quarter-century of social service in co-operation with their beloved chief. In the crowded Abbey, moreover, among national characters, were factory workers, ex-chimney sweeps, costermongers, women liberated from the collieries, and children of Ragged Schools; while amidst the bank of flowers covering the coffin, the wreath of a Princess lay beside the "Loving tribute of the Flower-girls of London." Famous statesmen and unknown labourers, strong men and little children shed tears as the service proceeded. But outside, in falling rain, the scene was even more remarkable. From Grosvenor Square to Parliament Street thoroughfares were crowded—

[1] Hodder iii. 516.

[2] Dean Stanley, who died four years before Shaftesbury, "was wont to place his name *first* on the list of worthies whose dust would enrich the Abbey" (*In Memoriam*, 25).

[3] Appendix, Hodder, iii. Names of these Societies are here printed. Also *In Memoriam*, 30–3.

not with curious spectators, but mourners. Among the silent throng was many a great grand-parent and many a tiny child, many a labourer and many a factory lass. Almost all wore a touch of crape. In the death of this man they felt personal bereavement. They had lost *their* Earl—the people's friend. It was, in Parliament Street, however, that the scene was most touching. There, long before the appointed hour, an organized multitude, with banners, representing numerous societies, stood ready to fall in at the rear of the procession; and, led by the band of the Costermongers' Temperance Society, playing the Dead March, they joined in the last earthly tribute to their comrade and leader. Amidst the multitude, bare-headed in the rain, thousands were shedding tears; some sobbed audibly. Workmen recognized in Shaftesbury their deliverer, and inclement weather could not restrain them from turning out to pay homage. The Earl had "clothed a people with spontaneous mourning, and was going down to the grave amid the benediction of the poor."

Shaftesbury's biographer, describing the Memorial Service, says: "For no other man in England, or in the world, could such an assembly have been drawn together."[1] The tribute is scarcely exaggerated. Emancipated workers were registering their appreciation of a life which incarnated

> The arduous strife and the eternal laws,
> To which the triumph of all good is given:
> High sacrifice, and labour without pause,
> Even unto death.

The following day a simple service was held in St. Giles's Church, Dorset; and the immediate family, along with their tenantry, witnessed the mortal remains of Anthony[2] Ashley-Cooper laid to rest beside the bodies of his departed loved ones.

So closed the gates of Death, and the Master-Figure of Social Reform bade farewell to the limitations of time and space. But he, being dead, his work stands immortal. Shaftesbury was a unique nobleman. He holds a place all his own among British gentry. No other peer has ever devoted himself so unreservedly to the common good; no other statesman has

[1] Hodder, iii. 519.
[2] This name was often spelt "Antony." See plate, p. 413.

so won the heart of the masses. A majestic seriousness, an exalted purpose dominated his life. He was singularly sensitive to suffering or sorrow wherever they appeared; and no amount of cynicism or witticism could, in his eyes, excuse injustice or inhumanity. Never could he jest at another's woes. Yet this man, who had pet names for all members of his family, who rejoiced in the piquant, but kindly, witticisms of Judge Payne; who, on occasions, referred to himself as a donkey, was not lacking in a sense of humour, which helped to keep body and mind virile till death. Frequently he related jests reflecting on himself. Sometimes the arrow pointed elsewhere. One story he specially loved to relate. Into the American Anti-Slavery Campaign he threw all his support. That annoyed the slave-owning States; and one of their papers, in its innocence, burst forth: "Who is this Earl of Shaftesbury? Some unknown lordling; one of your modern philanthropists suddenly started up to take part in a passing agitation. It is a pity he does not look at home. WHERE WAS HE WHEN LORD ASHLEY WAS SO NOBLY FIGHTING FOR THE FACTORY BILL, AND PLEADING THE CAUSE OF THE ENGLISH SLAVE? WE NEVER EVEN HEARD OF THE NAME OF THIS LORD SHAFTESBURY THEN." [1]

Britain to-day is a different country because of Shaftesbury's life. In the decade witnessing the formation of the Ragged School Union, Thomas Beames, "Preacher and Assistant of St. James's, Westminster," exclaimed: "Westminster! at once the seat of a palace and a plague spot; senators declaim where sewers poison: theology holds her counsels where thieves learn their trade—and Europe's grandest hall is flanked by England's foulest graveyard." [2] London still is far from perfect. But she is a paradise in comparison with the time when Wesley began to demonstrate the power of practical Christianity—a time when 74·5 per cent. of all children born were dying before five years of age: she is a Utopia as compared with conditions prevailing even when Shaftesbury entered the fray.

A Shaftesbury Memorial, with drinking fountains, was erected in the centre of Piccadilly Circus, perhaps the busiest spot in the Empire. And it is fitting that this was so. Built entirely by public subscription, it commemorates a statesman who lived

[1] Hodder, ii. 439. This article appeared two years after Shaftesbury became a peer.

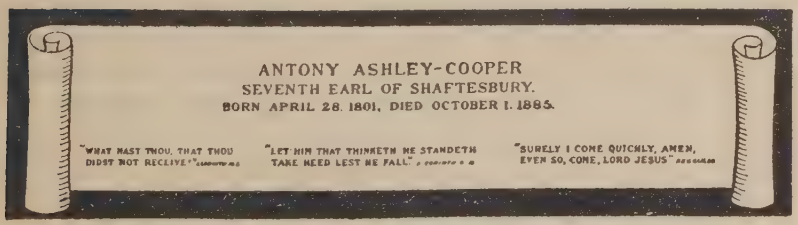
[2] T. Beames, *Rookeries of London* (1850), 20.

in closer contact with the people's aspirations than any other whom Britain has yet reared. The inscription, composed by Gladstone, reads, in part, thus: "During a public life of half-a-century, he devoted the influence of his station, the strong sympathies of his heart, and the great power of his mind to honouring God by serving his fellowmen—an example to his order, a blessing to his people, and a name to be by them ever gratefully remembered." [1]

Shaftesbury was a child of the Evangelical Revival. A consuming faith directed his life. He could not trace his "conversion" to baptism, confirmation, or any sacramental rite; but he knew he was a re-born man and also he knew that the old housekeeper, of boyhood days, was the priestess who led him to the Light. He had little veneration for sacerdotal assumptions and was a "layman" to the core; yet no nobler prophet of God is included in the Calendar of Saints. Cardinal Manning made no rash statement, when, after studying Shaftesbury's endeavours, he exclaimed: "I feel that my life has been wasted. . . ." [2]

1 A large statue of Shaftesbury, as Knight of the Garter, stands by the North door of Westminster Abbey, near tomb of Unknown Soldier.

2 No memorial plate has yet been placed on the walls of 24 Grosvenor Square, Shaftesbury's London residence.


ANTONY ASHLEY-COOPER
SEVENTH EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.
BORN APRIL 28. 1801. DIED OCTOBER 1. 1885.
"WHAT HAST THOU, THAT THOU DIDST NOT RECEIVE?"
"LET HIM THAT THINKETH HE STANDETH TAKE HEED LEST HE FALL"
"SURELY I COME QUICKLY. AMEN, EVEN SO, COME, LORD JESUS"

He desired this simple inscription and chose these texts.

(This tablet is in St. Giles Church, Dorset.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE following Bibliography should be read in conjunction with the Preface. It is the product of a larger study than the mere title of this work implies ; for it is designed not only to throw light on the multifarious associations of Shaftesbury's remarkable career, but also to illustrate something of the social significance of the religious movement of which he was the greatest lay prophet. Shaftesbury's unparalleled record of social reform can never be understood apart from the Evangelical Movement, which inspired it; and the strategic importance of the Evangelical Movement, in turn, can never be fairly gauged without a preliminary study of the amazingly degrading social conditions with which it was at first confronted, and against which it waged spiritual warfare. This Bibliography, therefore, strives to establish the continuity of interest between Shaftesbury and his religious forerunners ; it also attempts to suggest the social problem in its post-Shaftesbury aspects. The author is overwhelmingly conscious of the fact that, far from being exhaustive, it is, in truth, lamentably incomplete. Yet he ventures to hope that it may throw some light on the interplay of economic, political and religious forces in weaving the skein of social progress ; while, as for the modern theory that, throughout the English-speaking world, social advancement has been more hindered than helped by religious enthusiasm, that theory stands condemned by sheer weight of evidence.

I. CONCERNING SHAFTESBURY.

1. PRIMARY SOURCES :

(*a*) Shaftesbury's Diary (as incorporated in Hodder's Biography). During the whole of his public life Shaftesbury kept a Diary, reflecting his most intimate moods. This was given over to Edwin Hodder to compose the official Biography, and on it that work is based.

(*b*) Hodder, Edwin : Life of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, 3 vols., 1886. In 1887 appeared a one-volume edition, slightly abridged, but incorporating several illustrations. This was reprinted 1892.

(*c*) Hodder, E. : Lord Shaftesbury as Social Reformer, 1897 (a small popular work).

(*d*) A large volume of Shaftesbury's Speeches, 1868. (Not all these speeches are complete, but they illustrate Shaftesbury's approach to the Social Problem.)

(*e*) Many of Shaftesbury's Speeches were printed as pamphlets, or as tracts on Social, Industrial and Religious questions. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science contain several. *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* reported at length many of his popular speeches.

Among the more notable of the hundreds of Shaftesbury's Speeches the following may be cited:

(1) Children in Factories, 1838.
(2) Children in Mines and Collieries, 1842.
(3) The Suppression of the Opium Trade, 1843.
(4) Lodging Houses for the Working Classes, 1851.
(5) Religious Liberty in Turkey, 1854.
(6) Speech on Liberty of Religious Worship Bill, 1855.
(7) Health, Physical Condition, Moral Habits and Education of the People, 1858.
(8) Literary Institutes for Working Men, 1859.
(9) Religious Services in Theatres, 1860.
(10) Irrigation and Inland Navigation for India, 1861.
(11) Speech before National Educational Union, 1872.
(12) Speech at Annual Meeting of Church Pastoral Aid Society, 1873.
(13) Speech on Second Reading of Factories Bill, 1874.
(14) Speech at Working Men's Meeting, Social Science Congress (Glasgow), 1874.
(15) How to Reach the Heathen in Great Cities, 1878.

(*f*) Talks with the People (portions of addresses), 1882.
(*g*) Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.
(*h*) Numerous Letters to the Press, particularly *The Times*.
(*i*) *Ragged School Union Magazine*, 1849–75 (27 vols.). Continued as *Ragged School Union Quarterly Review* (12 vols.) till 1887. Then, *In His Name*: The Record of Ragged School and Mission Work (20 vols.), till 1907. From 1908 till present the *Shaftesbury Magazine*.
(*j*) British Museum Additional Manuscripts contain numerous letters in Shaftesbury's hand, and include correspondence with General Garibaldi, the Prince Consort, Sir R. Hill, Lord Kinnaird, and Messrs. Panizzi, Babbage, etc. They also include letters and documents referring to practically all the chief characters of Shaftesbury's day. (See Indexes in Manuscript Room.)
(*k*) Letters and Pamphlets in possession of Shaftesbury Society, John Kirk House, London.
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(*m*) Wykehamist, A: The Agricultural Labourer, 1873 (Preface by Shaftesbury).
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Our Veterans: Life Stories of the London City Mission, 1881 (Introduction by Shaftesbury).
These Fifty Years, 1884 (Jubilee Volume of London City Mission; Introduction by Shaftesbury).
(*q*) Prefaces by Shaftesbury to many books on social and religious subjects. See British Museum Catalogue for *some* but *not all* of them.
(*r*) Reports and Pamphlets of Early Closing Association (34–40, Ludgate Hill, London). They contain important quotations from Shaftesbury's public speeches in support of the Saturday Half-Holiday and his estimate of the value of recreation.
(*s*) Random Recollections of Exeter Hall, 1834–37, by one of the Protestant Party (pp. 48 ff. for an early and graphic description of Ashley), 1838. See also "Exeter Hall," British Museum Catalogue.

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(7) Defoe, D.: The Compleat English Gentleman (edited by Dr. Karl Bülbring from Autograph MS. in British Museum, 1890).
(8) Thackeray, W. M.: The Four Georges (appeared first in *Cornhill Magazine*, 1860).
(9) The Whole Duty of Man, 1684 (a religious text-book; much emphasis on servants' duty to superiors, etc.; probably by R. Allestree).
(10) Rogers, T.: Six Centuries of Work and Wages, 1884.
(11) Hanway, Jonas: An Earnest Appeal for Mercy to Children of the Poor, 1766.
(12) Eighteenth-Century Charity Sermons (by famous ecclesiastics).
(13) Young, A.: A Six Months' Tour through the North of England, 4 vols., 1770.
(14) Young, A.: Inquiry into the State of Mind among the Labouring Classes, 1798.
(15) Franklin, B.: Information for Those who would Remove to America, 1784 (satirizes England's class divisions).
(16) Franklin, B.: Autobiography, 1868 ed.
(17) Priestley, Joseph: Corruptions of Christianity, 1871.
(18) Hanway, Jonas: A Sentimental History of Chimney Sweepers, 1785.

(*c*) *Deism:*

(1) Toland, J.: Christianity not Mysterious, 1696.
(2) Tindal, Matthew: Rights of the Christian Church, 1706.
(3) Collins, Anthony:
Priestcraft in Perfection, 1709.
Discourse on Free Thinking, 1713.
(4) Woolston, T.: Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour, 1727–9.
(5) Tindal, M.: Christianity as Old as Creation, 1730.
(6) Middleton, C.: Free Inquiry, 1748.
(7) Pattison, M.: Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750 (in Essays and Reviews), 1860.

(*d*) *Philosophy and Theology:*

(1) Works which early influenced Wesley (Shaftesbury's hero):
Thomas à Kempis: Imitation of Christ (English translation, 1503).
Taylor, J.:
Life of Christ, 1650.
Rule and Exercise of Holy Living, 1650.
Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying, 1651.
Baxter, R.:
The Fool's Prosperity, 1659.
How to Do Good to the Many, 1682.
Bunyan, J. The Pilgrim's Progress, 1678.
Law, H.: A Serious Call, 1729.

(2) Philosophical Works:
Hobbes, T: Leviathan, 1651.
Locke, J.: Works (12th ed., 1824).
Hume, D.: Treatise on Human Nature, 1739.
Kant, I.:
Critique of Pure Reason, 1781.
Critique of PracticalReason, 1788.

(3) Theological Works :
Berkeley, G. : Principles of Human Knowledge, 1716.
Addison, Joseph : The Truth of the Christian Religion, 1730.
Conybeare, J. : Defence of Revealed Religion, 1732.
Butler, J. :
Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, 1736.
Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, 1751.
Edwards, Jonathan :
Freedom of the Will, 1754.
Christian Virtue, 1788.

(*e*) *The Established Church :*

(1) " Martyrdom " Sermons (late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries ; preached annually on January 30th, the anniversary of Charles I's execution ; most breathe out slaughter on Puritanism and almost deify Charles I).
(2) " Restoration " Sermons, 1661–1758 (preached annually on May 29th, the anniversary of the Restoration).
(3) Atterbury, Francis : Sermons, 1723.
(4) Butler, Joseph : Sermons on Human Nature, 1726.
(5) Warburton, W. : Alliance between Church and State, 1736.
(6) Swift, J. : Writings on Religion and the Church (Works, vols. iii and iv, 1898 ed.).
(7) Addison, J. : Works, 1898 (the Christian Religion, Letters, etc.).
(8) Newton, Bishop T. : Autobiography, 1782 (an open picture of flattery and place-hunting). Reprinted by Alexander Chalmers, 1816.
(9) Paley, W. : Reasons for Contentment, Addressed to the Labouring Part of the British Public, 1792 (illustrates the cold class-consciousness of eighteenth-century rationalism).
(10) Priestley, J. : An Appeal to the Nation after the Riots in Birmingham, 1792.
(11) Rowden, A. W. : Primates of the Four Georges, 1916.

(*f*) *Political Thought :*

(1) Locke, J. : Second Treatise on Civil Government, 1689.
(2) Hume, D. : Political Discourses, 1752.
(3) Walpole, Sir R. : Memoirs of, by W. Coxe, 1798 ; also Dictionary of National Biography.
(4) Priestley, J. : Essay on First Principles of Government and on the Nature of Political, Civic and Religious Liberty, 1768.
(5) Rousseau, J. J. : Social Contract, 1762.
(6) Cartwright, Major John : Take Your Choice, 1776.
(7) Paine, T. :
Common Sense, 1776.
Rights of Man, 1791–2.
(8) Price, Dr. R. : A Discourse on Love of Country, 1789.
(9) Woolstonecraft, Mary : Vindication of the Rights of Women, 1791.
(10) Burke, Edmund : Works, 8 vols., 1852 ed.
(11) Godwin, W. : Political Justice, 1793.
(12) Collins, C. : Voltaire in England, 1908.

(*g*) *Literature*:

(1) Swift, J.: Battle of the Books, 1704.
(2) Pope, A.: Moral Essays, 1731–8.
(3) Pope, A.: Poetical Works, 3 vols., 1852 ed.
(4) Johnson, S.: The Vanity of Human Wishes, 1749.
(5) Goldsmith, O.: The Deserted Village, 1769.
(6) Fielding, Henry: The Adventures of Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams (Works, 1821 ed., vol. v).
(7) Boswell's Life of Johnson, 1887 ed., 6 vols.

2. Concerning Wesley (Shaftesbury's Spiritual Father):

(*a*) *Works* by *Wesley* (R. Green prints 417 publications by John and Charles Wesley). The following will give a fair idea of Wesley's social outlook:

(1) John Wesley's Journal: N. Curnock's Standard Edition, 8 vols., with notes, diaries, facsimilies, illustrations, etc., 1909.
(2) Sermons (many deal with the most practical social problems, e.g. Sermon 50, The Use of Money).
(3) The Principles of a Methodist, 1742.
(4) The Character of a Methodist, 1742.
(5) Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion, 1743.
(6) Further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion, 1745.
(7) Advice to the People called Methodists, 1745.
(8) A Word to a Drunkard, 1745.
(9) Lessons for Children, 1746.
(10) A Word to a Freeholder, 1747.
(11) A Christian Library (50 vols., 1749–55). This work incorporates many gems by great writers.
(12) A Letter to a Roman Catholic, 1749.
(13) A Second Letter to the Author of "Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared" (Bishop Lavington), 1751.
(14) Predestination Calmly Considered, 1752.
(15) An Address to the Clergy, 1756.
(16) A Blow at the Root: or Christ Stabbed in the House of His Friends, 1762.
(17) Sermon Preached before Society for the Reformation of Manners, 1763.
(18) The Good Steward, 1768.
(19) Advice with Respect to Health, 1769.
(20) Free Thoughts on the Present State of Public Affairs, 1770.
(21) A Sermon on the Death of George Whitefield, 1770.
(22) Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions (illustrates the keenness of Wesley's economic thought and his aversion to luxury), 1773
(23) Thoughts upon Slavery, 1774 (one of the most powerful attacks upon slavery ever written, yet it was published thirteen years before the Abolition Committee was formed).
(24) Thoughts upon Necessity, 1774.
(25) A Calm Address to our American Colonies, 1775.
(26) Some Observations upon Liberty, 1776.
(27) A Seasonable Address to the More Serious Part of the Inhabitants of Great Britain, respecting the Unhappy Contest between Us and our American Brethren (a remarkable exposure of the barbarism of war and its futility in settling disputes between nations).
(28) *Arminian Magazine*, 1778. Changed in 1798 to *Methodist Magazine*, and in 1822 to *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*.
(29) A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, 1778.

(30) A Serious Address to the People of England with regard to the State of the Nation, 1778.
(31) A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists, 1780 (includes 486 by C. Wesley and 27 by J. Wesley).
(32) An Estimate of the Manners of the Present Time, 1782.
(33) A Letter to Wilberforce urging him to press on in his fight against slavery. This letter Wilberforce docketed, "Wesley's Last Words," 1791 (written only a few days before his death).

(*b*) *Works* ABOUT *Wesley :*

(1) Tyerman, L. : Life and Times of John Wesley, new ed., 1876.
(2) Telford, J. : Life of John Wesley, 1886 (good chronology, 397 ff.).
(3) Hurst, J. F. : History of Methodism, 7 vols., New York, 1902–4.
(4) Southey, R. : Life of John Wesley, 2 vols, 1820.
(5) Fitchett, W. H. : Wesley and his Century, 1906.
(6) Harrison, T. : John Wesley Vindicated by Himself, 1839.
(7) Wedgwood, Julia : John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction., 1870.
(8) Cadman, S. P. : The Three Religious Leaders of Oxford (Wycliffe, Wesley, Newman), New York, 1916.
(9) Walmsley, L. S. : Fighters and Martyrs for the Freedom of the Faith, 1912 (chapter on Wesley).
(10) Birrell, Augustine (the Right Hon.) : Wesley : his Times and his Work (in Letters of J. Wesley, edited by Geo. Eayrs, 1915).
(11) Hillis, N. D. : John Wesley and the Moral Awakening of the Common People (in Great Men as Prophets of a New Era, New York, 1922).
(12) Faulkner, J. A. : The Socialism of John Wesley : in Tracts for the Times, 1909.
(13) Faulkner, J. A. : Wesley as Sociologist, Theologian and Churchman, New York, 1918.
(14) Smith, G. : History of Wesleyan Methodism, vol. i. Wesley and his Times, 2nd ed. 1859.
(15) Cambridge Modern History (vol. vi, chap. ii, pp. 77–89, by H. W. V. Temperley).
(16) Pike, G. H. : Wesley and his Preachers, 1903.

3. THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT :

(*a*) *General :*

(1) Report of Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor, 5 vols., 1798–1808. (A remarkable record of social achievement).
(2) Carton, W. : History of British and Foreign Bible Society, 2 vols., 1904.
(3) Warneck, G. : History of Protestant Missions, trans. 1906.
(4) Private Papers of Wm. Wilberforce, edited by A. M. Wilberforce, 1897.
(5) Telford, J. : Popular History of Methodism, 1899.
(6) Overton, J. H. : English Revival in the Eighteenth Century, 1886.
(7) Mathieson, W. L. : English Church Reform, 1815–40 (1924).
(8) Hall, T. C. : The Social Meaning of the Modern Religious Movements in England (Ely Lectures), 1899.
(9) Green, J. R. : Short History of the English People, 1874 (on Puritanism and Evangelical Revival).

(10) Skeats, H. S.: A History of the Free Churches of England from 1688 to 1851 (1868).
(11) Dictionary of English Church History, 1912 (on Evangelicals and Nonconformity).
(12) Methodism (Encyclopædia Britannica).
(13) Emmott, E. B.: The Story of Quakerism, 1908.
(14) Petty, J.: History of Primitive Methodist Connection, 1860.
(15) North, E. M.: Early Methodist Philanthropy (New York, 1914).
(16) Martin, K. L. P.: Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific, 1924.
(17) Newton, Rev. John: Thoughts on the African Slave Trade, 1788.
(18) "Africanus": Remarks on the Slave Trade and the Slavery of Negroes in a Series of Letters, 1788 (dedicated to Granville Sharp).
(19) Bell, Dr. A.: An Experiment in Education, 1797.
(20) More, Hannah: Strictures on Female Education, 1799.
(21) Horne, C. S.: History of the Free Churches, 1903.
(22) Allen, R. W.: Methodism and Modern World Problems (Introduction by Sir Josiah Stamp), 1926.

(*b*) *Pro-Evangelical:*

(1) Wilberforce, W.: A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes of the Country, Contrasted with Real Christianity, 15th ed., 1824.
(2) Stephen (the Right Hon. Sir James): Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, 4th ed., 1849.
(3) Hill, Sir Richard: An Apology for Brotherly Love, 1798.
(4) Whitefield, G.: Britain's Mercies and Britain's Duties, 1746.
(5) More, Hannah:
The Manners of the Great, 1788.
The Religion of the Fashionable World, 1790.
(6) Romaine, W.: The Triumph of Faith, 1795.
(7) Lucas, R.: Three Sermons on Sunday Schools, 1786.
(8) Bell, A.: A Sermon on the Education of the Poor, 1807.
(9) Tracts relating to Methodists, 1753 (British Museum).
(10) Otter, W.: A Vindication of Churchmen who become Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society . . . an Answer to Dr. Marsh, 1812.
(11) Milner, I.: Strictures on Some of the Publications of Rev. H. Marsh, D.D. . . . 1813.
(12) Colquhoun, J. C.: William Wilberforce: his Friends and his Times, 1866.
(13) Milner, Joseph and Isaac: History of the Church of Christ, 5 vols., 1794–1809.
(14) Green, R.: The Mission of Methodism (Fernley Lecture, 1890).
(15) *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review*, vol. xxv, 1883 ("Primitive Methodism: its Influence on the Working Classes," by R. Richardson).
(16) *The Christian Observer*, from 1802.
(17) *The Evangelical Magazine* from 1793.
(18) *Primitive Methodist Children's Magazine*, from 1851.

(*c*) *Anti-Evangelical:*

(1) Trapp, Dr. J.: The Nature, Folly, Sin and Danger of being Righteous Overmuch, 1839.
(2) The Methodists: a Humorous Burlesque Poem, 1839 (a "truly villainous production"). Anonymous.

(3) *Gentleman's Magazine*, from 1739, published scurrilous attacks upon Whitefield and Wesley; so also did the *London Magazine*, the *Weekly Miscellany* and various other publications. (As early as 1740 more than one hundred anti-Methodist publications had issued from the press.)
(4) Trick upon Trick, or Methodism Displayed: a Farce, 1743, Anonymous.
(5) Kirkby, J.: The Impostor Detected, 1750 (a violent attack on Wesley, but without any real evidence).
(6) Gibson, E. (Bishop of London): A Charge to the Clergy, 1747.
(7) Lavington (Bishop):
Enthusiasm of Papists and Methodists Compared, 1754.
The Moravians Compared and Detected, 1755.
(8) Dr. Faustus: A Dozen Reasons why the Sect of Conjurors, called Fortune Tellers, should have at least as much Liberty to Exercise their Abominable Art as is now granted to the Methodists, Moravians, and other sorts of Conjurors, 1757.
(9) Die and Be Damned, Anonymous, 1758.
(10) Foote, Samuel: The Minor: A Comedy, 1760. (*Lloyd's Evening Post*, July 14, 1760, describes this comedy as "steeped in lewdness.")
(11) Reed, J.: The Register Office: a Farce in Two Acts, 1761 (acted at Theatre Royal, Drury Lane).
(12) Lloyd, E.: The Methodist: a Poem, 1766 ("obscene and profane").
(13) Roe, S.: Enthusiasm Detected and Defeated, 1768 (proposed legislative power to "cut out the tongues" of field preachers and those without Apostolic ordination).
(14) The Jesuit Detected, Anonymous, 1769.
(15) J. W.: A Necessary Alarm, 1774.
(16) Auscultator: The Serpent and the Fox: an Interview between Old Nick and Old John, 1777.
(17) The Fanatic Saints, Anonymous, 1778.
(18) Challenor (Bishop): A Caveat against the Methodists, 1787.
(19) Owen, T. E.: Methodism Unmasked, 1802.
(20) *Edinburgh Review* from 1803 (Sydney Smith, its most famous editor, loved to poke fun at Evangelicals).
(21) Ingram, R. A.: Causes of the Increase of Methodism and Dissension . . . and the Means of Obviating Them, 1807.
(22) *The Examiner*, from 1808 (Leigh Hunt's attitude was similar to Sydney Smith's).
(23) Hunt, Leigh: An Attempt to Show the Folly and Danger of Methodism, 1809.
(24) Marsh, H.: An Inquiry into the Consequences of Neglecting to Give the Prayer Book with the Bible, 1812 (an attack on the British and Foreign Bible Society).
(25) *British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record*, 1827–43 (High Church and anti-Evangelical).
(26) *British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information*, etc., 1838–49 (High Church).
(27) Owen, Place and Cobbett were as bitterly anti-Evangelical as were Sydney Smith and Leigh Hunt. (Against the Quakers, in particular, Cobbett wrote reams of brilliant but arrogant nonsense.)

(*d*) *Biography* (Evangelical Leaders):

(1) Whitefield, G.: Life, by L. Tyerman, 1876.
(2) Wesley, C.: Life, by J. Telford, 1866.

(3) Wilberforce:
A Narrative, by R. Coupland, 1925.
William Wilberforce: the Story of a Great Crusade, by Travers Buxton, 1903.
Life, by his sons, 5 vols., 1st ed., 1838.
(These works expose the fallacy of the now popular belief that Wilberforce was indifferent, or even hostile, to social reform at home.)
(4) Hannah More, by A. M. B. Meakin, 2nd ed., 1919.
(5) Sharp, Granville: Life, by P. Hoare, 1820.
(6) Huntingdon, Selina (Countess of): A Monograph, by S. Taylor, 1907.
(7) Raikes, Robert: Life, by R. M. Eastman, 1880.
(8) Romaine, W.: Life, by the Hon. W. M. Cadogan, 1796.
(9) Newton, J.: Life, by R. Cecil, 1853.
(10) Cowper, W.: Life, by Thos. Wright, 1892.
(11) Milner, Isaac: Life, by Mary Milner, 1842.
(12) Milner, Joseph: see Dictionary of National Biography.
(13) Clarkson, T.: Taylor's Sketch of the Life of, 1876.
(14) Simeon, C.: Recollections of Simeon's Conversation Parties, by A. W. Brown, 1862.
(15) Macaulay, Zachary: see Dictionary of National Biography.
(16) Buxton, Sir Thos. Fowell: Memoirs, edited by his son Charles, 1848.
(17) Scott, Thos.: Life, by his son Rev. John, 1822.
(18) Thorntons, John and Henry: see Dictionary of National Biography.
(19) Asbury, Francis: Journal, 3 vols., New York, 1852.
(20) Coke, Dr. Thomas: Dictionary of National Biography.

III. WORKS RELATING TO SOCIAL, ETHICAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS (NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES).

1. General:

Romilly, Sir S.: Observations on the Criminal Code, 1810.
Horsley, J. W.: Prisons and Prisoners, 1898.
Smith, George: The Cry of the Children from the Brickfields of England, 6th ed., 1879.
Tuke, Dr. D. H.: Reform in the Treatment of the Insane, 1892.
Bruce, James (Lord Elgin): Letters and Journals of the Eighth Earl of Elgin, 1872 (an interesting light on the Opium Wars).
Souttar, Dr. R.: Alcohol: Its Place and Power in Legislation, 1900.
Plimsoll, A.: Our Seamen: An Appeal, 1873. (Shaftesbury was the right-hand power behind Plimsoll's reforms.)
Stephens, J. R.: A Sermon at Hyde (Lancs), February 17, 1839 (shortly after his release from prison).
Holyoake, G. J.:
Bygones worth Remembering, 2 vols., 1905
History of Co-operation in England, 2 vols., 1906 ed.
Beames, T.: Rookeries of London, 1850.
Cobbett, W.:
Manchester Lectures, 1832.
Rural Rides, 1853 ed.
George, Henry: Progress and Poverty, 1879.
Carlyle, T.: Past and Present, 1843.
Ruskin, J.:
Unto this Last, 1882.
Time and Tide, 1882.

Smiles, S. : Self-Help, 1859.
Queen Victoria : Life, by S. Lee, 1904.
Book of Discipline of the Society of Friends in Great Britain, 1883.
Toynbee, Arnold : Life, by Viscount Milner, 1895.
Purcell, E. S. : Life of Cardinal Manning, 2 vols., 1896.
Rogers, T. : The Economic Interpretation of History, 1891.
Giddings, F. : Principles of Sociology, 3rd ed., New York, 1920.
Rose, J. H. : The Rise of Democracy, 1897.
Dicey, A. V. : Relations between Law and Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century, 1905.
Hodder, E. : George Smith of Coalville, 1896.
Hobson, J. A. :
The Industrial System : An Inquiry into Earned and Unearned Income, 1910.
John Ruskin, Social Reformer, 1898.
Tawney, R. H. :
The Sword of the Spirit, 1917.
The Acquisitive Society, 1921.
Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, 1926.
Wallas, G. :
The Great Society, 1919.
Our Social Heritage, 1921.
Dobbs, A. E. : Education and Social Movements, 1700–1850 (1919).
Hobhouse, L. T. :
Liberalism, 1911.
The Elements of Social Justice, 1922.
Hammond, J. L. and Barbara :
The Village Labourer, 1911.
The Town Labourer, 1918.
The Skilled Labourer, 1919.
The Rise of Modern Industry, 1925.
Levi, Leoni : History of British Commerce and of the Economic Progress of the British Nation, 1763–1878 (1880).
Knowles, L. C. A. : Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1921.
Russell, B. : Roads to Freedom, 1919.
Keynes, J. M. : The Economic Consequences of the Peace, 1920.
Belloc, H. : The Servile State, 1912.
Mathieson, W. L. : English Church Reform, 1815–40 (1923).
McCabe, J. : A Century of Stupendous Progress, 1925. (Bitterly anti-religious ; many inaccuracies.)
Fairless, M. : The Road Mender, 54th impr., 1925.
Dickinson, G. L. : Justice and Liberty, 1919.
Johnson, B. : The Children and the Drink, 1901. (Result of investigation by Bishop of Hereford's Committee.)
Barnett (Canon) : Life, by his wife, 2 vols., 1918.
Booth (the Right Hon. Charles) : Life and Labour of the People in London, 1890–1900, 17 vols., 1902. (A mine of information.)

2. POLITICAL :

(*a*) *The French Revolution :*

(1) Carlyle, T. : The French Revolution, 1837.
(2) Brown, P. A. : The French Revolution in English History, 1918.
(3) Cambridge Modern History, vol. viii.
(4) Rose, J. H. : Christianity and the French Revolution, 1910.
(5) French Revolution, Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th ed.

(*b*) *The Reform Bill :*

(1) Trevelyan, G. M. : Lord Grey of the Reform Bill, 1920.
(2) Mathieson, W. L. : England in Transition, 1789–1832 (1920).
(3) Grey, Charles (Earl) : Life, by Geo. Grey, 1861.
(4) Russell (Lord John) : Life, by S. J. Reid, 1893.

(*c*) *Chartism :*

(1) Lovett, W. :
Justice Safer than Expediency, 1848.
Life and Struggles of William Lovett in his Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge and Freedom, 1876.
(2) O'Connor, F. :
See " Northern Star," from 1837.
A Practical Work on the Management of Small Farms, 1843.
(3) Carlyle, T. : Chartism, 1839.
(4) Hovell, M. : The Chartist Movement, 1918.
(5) West, J. : A History of the Chartist Movement, 1920.
(6) Rosenblatt, F. F. : The Chartist Movement in its Social and Economic Aspects, New York, 1916 (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Columbia University, vol. lxxiii).
(7) Slosson, P. W. : The Decline of the Chartist Movement, New York, 1916.
(8) Faulkner, H. U. : Chartism and the Churches, New York, 1916.

(*d*) *The Repeal of the Corn Laws :*

See " Manchester School " below.

(*e*) *The Factory Acts :*

A. *General Works :*

(1) Sadler T. M. : Factory Statistics : Letters on the Report of 1832 (1836).
(2) Oastler, R. :
Facts and Plain Words, 1833.
Slavery in Yorkshire, 1835.
(3) Bull, Rev. G. S. : An Appeal on Behalf of Factory Children, 1832.
(4) Fielden, John : The Curse of the Factory System, 1836.
(5) Horner, L. : On the Employment of Children in Factories and other Works in the United Kingdom and some Foreign Countries, 1840.
(6) Baker, R. : The Present Condition of the Working Classes, 1851.
(7) Grant, P. : The Ten Hours Bill : a History of Factory Legislation, 1866 (containing a Warning to the Working Classes, by Shaftesbury).
(8) Owen, R. : Observations on the Manufacturing System, 1815.
(9) Gaskell, P. : The Manufacturing Population of England, 1833.
(10) Wing, C. : Evils of the Factory System, 1837.
(11) Holyoake, G. J. : Life of J. R. Stephens, 1881.
(12) " Alfred " (S. Kydd) : History of the Factory Movement, 1857.
(13) Plener, Ernest von : History of English Factory Legislation, trans. 1873.

(14) The Ten Hours Advocate and Journal of Literature and Art, 1846–7 (edited by P. Grant).
(15) Senior, N. W.: Three Lectures on Rates of Wages, 1830.
(16) Thackrah, Dr. T.: Effects of the Principal Arts, Trades and Professions on Health and Longevity, 1831.
(17) Kay, Dr. J. P.: The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes, 1832.
(18) Greg, R. H.: The Factory Question, 1837 (sternly hostile to Sadler and all factory reformers).
(19) Engles, F.: Condition of the Working Classes in 1844.
(20) Taylor, H. C.: The Factory System, 1844.
(21) Hutchins, B. L., and Harrison, A.: History of Factory Legislation (a careful and suggestive study), 1903.
(22) Hutt, W. H.: The Factory System of the Early Nineteenth Century (*Economica*, March 1926: an attempt to discount the importance of factory legislation).
(23) Mess, H. A.: Factory Legislation and its Administration, 1891–1924 (1926).

B. *Parliamentary Reports:*

1816. Report of Select Committee on the State of Children Employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom (Peel's Committee).
1818. Report of the Lords' Committee (Lords' Sessional Papers, 1818, IX).
1831–2. Report of Select Committee on Factory Children's Labour (Sadler's Committee).
1833. First and Second Reports of Commission on Employment of Children in Factories.
1834. Supplementary Report.
1840–1. Select Committee's Report on Operation of Act for Regulation of Mills and Factories.
1842. First Report of Children's Employment Commission (Mines).
1843. Second Report of Children's Employment Commission (Trades and Manufactures).
1861. Appointment of Commission on Employment of Children and Young Persons in Trades and Manufactures not already protected by Law.
1863–7. Six Reports by this Commission (the basis of the famous Acts of 1864 and 1867).
1876. Commissioners' Report on Working of Factory and Workshops Act, with a View to Consolidation and Amendment.

(*f*) *The Board School Act* (1870):

(1) Forster (the Right Hon. W. E.): Life, by T. W. Reid, 1889.
(2) The Sunday School, the Ragged School and the Educational Provisions of the Factory Acts, together with the labours of Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Bell, were important forerunners of the Board School Act.
(*a*) J. Wesley, Robert Raikes and Hannah More are the chief pioneers of the Sunday School Movement. See lives above.
(*b*) See "Ragged School Movement," below.
(*c*) Lancaster, J.: Life, by W. Corston, 1840.
(*d*) Bell, Rev. Dr. A.: J. M. D. Meiklejohn's An Old Educational Reformer, 1881; and Life, by R. Southey and C. C. Southey, 3 vols., 1844.

(g) *Political Biography:*

(1) Gladstone: Life, by John Morley, 3 vols., 1904.
(2) Palmerston: Life, by L. C. Sanders, 1888.
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